

SEVENTH  
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BOARD OF MANAGERS

OF THE

MASS. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

PRESENTED JANUARY 24, 1839.

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WITH AN APPENDIX.

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## REPORT.

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THE Lord reigns ! If it were not so, the friends of humanity might despair. The Lord is omnipotent ! But for this, tyrants might exercise perpetual dominion. The Lord is sworn to execute judgment for all who are oppressed ! Therefore, all shackles shall be broken, and every captive set free, in this, in all lands.

Feeling the inspiration of these truths, the Board of Managers present their Seventh Annual Report to the Society, with no misgiving as to the final triumph of the abolition cause, or the soundness of the principles and the wisdom of the measures adopted by its advocates. How soon, in what manner, or by what instrumentalities, the blood-reeking system of American slavery shall be overthrown—whether by a peaceful or a bloody process, by the repentance or destruction of the guilty—it is not for the finite, but the Infinite, to know. After years of warning, expostulation, rebuke, entreaty, on the part of the messengers of TRUTH,—after centuries of long-suffering and mercy on the part of ALMIGHTY GOD,—it yet remains problematical, whether this nation is to be saved as a brand plucked from the burning, or to be consumed by the fire of his wrath. The uncertainty of what is to come cannot lessen our responsibility, nor justify despondency, nor change the ground of moral obligation. In-

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stead of discouraging effort, or obstructing enterprise, it enforces the necessity of sleepless vigilance and never-slackening exertion. There is a certainty connected with this uncertainty. Without national reformation, there must be national destruction. If there be no truth disseminated, there can be no reformation. Unless there be preachers of truth, there will be no conviction of guilt; and without conviction, there can be no repentance, but "a fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation." It is certain, then, that by silence, inaction, or despondency, the republic must be destroyed, without remedy. It is uncertain whether, by exposing its blood-red guilt and horrible turpitude—by bearing a faithful testimony for God and his down-trodden poor—by watchfulness unto prayer, by laborious toil, by moral power, by energy and union of action—the republic will be saved. Here is the upspringing of our hope, and the ground of our action. If, however, it could be proved that our prayers, our warnings, our entreaties, would all be frustrated by the incorrigible wickedness of the people, still, our duty to warn and exhort would remain in full force. The instruction given by God to his ancient witness is in point:—"Son of man, go, get thee unto the house of Israel, and speak with my words unto them . . . But the house of Israel *will not hearken unto thee*; for they will not hearken unto me: for they are impudent and hard-hearted . . . But thou shalt speak my words unto them, *whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear.*" Thanks be to God, no prophet of emancipation has yet been commissioned to declare, with infallible certainty, that we shall plead and labor with our countrymen in vain. At times, indeed, the last ray of hope has been almost extinguished, and there has scarcely seemed to be any possibility of averting impending judgments; but, from time to time, a rainbow of mercy has been seen in the heavens, and omens of good, and flaming signs, to encourage us. It was a settled point, that Ezekiel could not make any impression upon the seared and rock-hardened conscience of Israel: nay, he could not be heard even: his speech had no sound, and produced no effect. Not so with us. Our

message is heard by the people, from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. Our slightest whisper is echoed from the tops of the Rocky Mountains, with distinctness and power. We have not spoken in vain. It is true, the ears of many have been stopped with cotton; some have made use of their fingers; very ingenious contrivances have been suggested to destroy the power of sound; propositions have been made to cut out our tongues, and cast them upon a dung-hill; in many cases, gags have been resorted to, in order to silence us; but all in vain. Without a paradox, the more our mouths have been closed, the wider we have opened them; and the less the nation has been disposed to hear, the more it has heard. From the least to the greatest, from the youngest to the eldest, all have been made acquainted with our testimony. Thus we have succeeded in reaching the national conscience. The flinty rock has been smitten, and a stream of contrition is beginning to flow. Terrible, but hopeful, is the conflict going on in the bosom of the nation, between light and darkness, truth and error, the agony of conviction and the desperation of passion. Alternately are heard imprecations, expostulations, threats, entreaties, blasphemies. If, in one aspect, a spectacle like this be afflicting, in another it is pregnant with salvation.

The history of the anti-slavery cause, during the past year, is not to be embodied in a single Report, however voluminous. The times are more stirring, conflicts are more frequent, events are of greater magnitude, than in the days of our revolutionary fathers. The moral warfare of **LIBERTY** against **SLAVERY** is incomparably more animating and sublime, and fraught with higher scenes of interest, and attended with far more glorious consequences, than any physical strife.

Since the last annual meeting, an important change has been made in the relation that subsisted between the State and Parent Societies, in regard to the management of the cause in this Commonwealth. This has been done in accordance with the following resolution, which was adopted by the American Society in May last:

\* Resolved, That it be recommended to such state or other auxiliaries as are disposed to take the charge of the abolition cause within their respective fields, to make arrangements with the Executive Committee of this Society, guaranteeing to our Treasury such stated payments as may be judged reasonable; and then assume within their own limits the entire direction of lecturers and agents in forming local societies, collecting funds, circulating memorials, and establishing libraries; and that this society will not send its agents to labor for these objects in such states as carry out this plan, except in concurrence with the State Executive Committee.'

At a subsequent meeting of your Board of Managers, to consider the expediency of assuming this responsibility, it was, after careful deliberation,

\* Resolved, That the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society will undertake the management of the anti-slavery cause, within the State, the ensuing year; and that this Board is now ready to enter into an arrangement with the Executive Committee of the Parent Society, for this purpose.'

At an adjourned meeting, the Board voted to pledge the Parent Society \$10,000 for the ensuing year; \$2,000 to be paid on the 1st of August; \$3,000 on the 1st of November; \$2,500 on the 1st of February; and \$2,500 on the 1st of May; in addition to raising an amount sufficient to defray the expenses of the State Society.

The Board were induced to take this step, believing it would be for the best interests of the cause, and therefore that it would obtain (as it seems to have done) the cordial approbation of Massachusetts abolitionists. It is obvious, that the responsibilities of so great an enterprise, for the several States, cannot be sustained by a Central Board at New-York: hence, the more they are divided and subdivided, till every individual abolitionist feels his share of the general pressure, the more easily and completely will the work be done—the more vitality will be diffused through the whole mass. There is another consideration, of no trifling importance, which commends such a division of responsibility to every discerning mind. The less power there is lodged in the hands of any select body of men,—to a certain extent, at least,—whether in Church or State, in any philanthropic or moral reform, the less danger there will be of

corruption, usurpation, perversion. The interests of the anti-slavery cause are too momentous to be entrusted solely to the management of any twelve, any fifty, any hundred individuals, constituted as a national committee, however wise in counsel, or disinterested in purpose, or benevolent in action. The wisdom, the disinterestedness, the benevolence of the whole body, are to be relied on more than those of a fraction. It is a political axiom, that "power is always stealing from the many to the few;" but it is seldom that the few are found willing, voluntarily, to impart to the many. The principles and professions of abolitionists partake of a radical character: hence they discard all leaders but TRUTH and RIGHT—they rely upon principles, not men—they protest against monopoly, they demand equality. Hitherto, in the infancy of our struggle, there has been no chance for an abuse of power, and therefore little cause for anxiety. But now we are receiving, daily and hourly, such large accessions to our ranks,—now that the management of our magnificent scheme is a prize worth seizing, in the eyes of the rulers in Church and State,—we need to be very careful with whom we entrust power, and to look well to our safeguards. Let this admonition be imprinted on every honest mind: The integrity of our cause is endangered, in exact proportion to the growth of its popularity. When the ship of REFORM lies upon the stocks, with her naked ribs exposed to view,—her form and comeliness yet to be developed,—she is an object neither of admiration nor envy. It is only when every plank is laid, every pin driven home, a successful launch effected,—when her canvass is all spread out to catch the favoring gale, her princely freight on board, and she starts upon her voyage to reach the haven of VICTORY,—it is then that ecclesiastical letters of marque and political buccaniers deem her worthy of conquest and possession. From every sectarian inlet and party cove, they push out upon the deep for her capture. Wo to that gallant ship, if, at such a perilous crisis, there be any disaffection among her officers or crew! If union and fidelity do not prevail on board, she will fall a prey to her merciless enemies;

her flag shall no more "brave the battle and the breeze;" with the expiring light of her conflagration, shall perish the hopes of expectant millions.

State anti-slavery societies, having special jurisdiction over their own appropriate territorial limits, may be regarded as important, if not indispensable, checks and balances to the action of each, and to the integrity of the cause. In such a case, a defection in one part of the country will be likely to be seen and exposed in another, before the mischief shall have become remediless.

The independent action of the Massachusetts Society has, it is believed, contributed to its efficiency and the furtherance of our enterprise. It is hardly time, however, to determine the utility of the experiment, as only two-thirds of a year have elapsed since it was begun. In some minds, there have been misgivings as to its probable result—particularly on the score of raising adequate funds to carry on the various operations of the State Society, and yet fulfilling our pecuniary obligations to the Parent Society. Nevertheless, if there shall no root of bitterness spring up to divide our ranks, the prospect is fair that we shall be able to accomplish the utmost that has been contemplated under the new arrangement.

In a pecuniary point of view, the abolitionism of Massachusetts compares well as to liberality with that of any other State. The amount contributed by this State to the treasury of the Parent Society, during the year ending May 1, 1838, was \$10,643,18, exclusive of the expense attending its collection. This sum was larger than that contributed even by the Empire State; more than five times as much as was given by Ohio, though there are more anti-slavery societies in that State than in this Commonwealth; more than was contributed by Maine, New-Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania, though the number of their societies, jointly, is nearly twice as large as exists in our own State.

This comparison is not made with invidious or vaunting intent. Undoubtedly, there are local causes to account, in some meas-



ure, for the wide disparity. But it furnishes decisive evidence, that the abolitionism of Massachusetts is not a mere abstraction, but both generous and practical. The Board would fain hope, that a more substantial proof of this fact will be given to our countrymen during the present year. As our numbers increase, so ought our contributions to augment.

The number of societies in this State, reported in May last, was 246—which, at this time, is not less, probably, than 300. \$10,648 18, divided by 246, will show the average amount contributed by each society to be a fraction over \$43. There were ascertained to be organized in the United States, on the 1st of May, 1838, about 1350 societies.\* Had the other 1100 contributed an equal amount, the whole sum received into the national treasury would have been about \$60,000, instead of \$44,000. But it is justly expected of Massachusetts, that she will set an example of well-doing to every other State in the Union.

How much is given to sustain the anti-slavery enterprise, it is difficult to form an accurate estimate. The sums actually realized by the Parent and State Societies do not afford sufficient data upon which to determine the measure of abolition benevolence. Thousands of dollars, which are not brought into the general aggregate, are annually contributed for incidental expenses. Besides their direct contributions to the National and State treasuries, abolitionists are called upon to defray the expense attending the continual series of meetings which are held, from the national anniversary down to a village gathering, for the purpose of arousing the public conscience, and softening the public heart. Popular as is the cause of Temperance, it has not more than six weekly periodicals exclusively enlisted in its support; unpopular as is the anti-slavery cause, it has not less than twelve weekly newspapers, nearly all of them of imperial size,

\* As follows:—In Maine, 48; New Hampshire, 79; Vermont, 104; Massachusetts, 246; Rhode Island, 26; Connecticut, 46; New York, 369; New Jersey, 14; Pennsylvania, 126; Ohio, 251; Indiana, 7; Illinois, 13; Michigan, 19; Delaware, 14.

devoted to its advocacy, besides its monthly and other publications. This fact speaks volumes for the zeal, the enterprise, the determination, the liberality of those, who, for manifesting such extraordinary if not unexampled devotion to the rights of man, are ignominiously branded as fanatics and incendiaries.

It is fair to presume, that the enemies of emancipation make the amount of money contributed to the cause, the criterion by which to judge of the sincerity of anti-slavery profession. Certain it is, the whole land became excessively agitated when, at the annual meeting of the Parent Society in New York, in 1835, the bold proposition was made by our stout-hearted brother Lewis Tappan, and unanimously adopted, to raise during the ensuing year, for the use of the Society, the sum of **THIRTY THOUSAND DOLLARS**. The fact that such a proposition had been agreed to in good faith, at a national gathering of abolitionists, was bruited throughout the country by our vigilant opponents; and then it was that the demons of slavery writhed and howled in agony. Then a desperate and frantic spirit was conjured up to execute Lynch law upon all who should dare to speak for the suffering and the dumb; and from that time to the present, the republic has rocked to its centre. "Now we know that these men are in earnest," it was said by the South—"that their sympathy for the enslaved is not in word merely, but in deed—that they mean just what they say—that, upon the altar of their cause, they are resolved to sacrifice the toils of industry, the gains of successful adventure, reputation, life, every thing, rather than yield up the contest. And if, now that they are few in numbers, and poor in resources, they have resolved to raise in twelve months the formidable sum of \$30,000, to be expended in scattering their incendiary publications and sending their fanatical lecturers through the land, what will they not propose to do, nay, what will they not accomplish, in the course of a few years, when their numbers and means shall have increased a hundred fold? Ho, to the rescue! There is no time to be lost! This combination must be crushed at a blow—or our "domestic institution," heaven-originated and di-

vinely sanctioned, the "corner-stone of our republican edifice," will perish in foulest infamy ! Help, brethren of the North !—priests who "teach for hire, and divine for money"—politicians who make a trade of patriotism—lawyers who bind heavy burdens upon men's shoulders—merchants who worship with slavish devotion at the shrine of mammon—manufacturers who are more interested in bales of cotton than in all things else—editors who pander to public corruption, and basely do the bidding of popular opinion—the pharisaical, the licentious, the refined, the brutal,—come one, come all, to our rescue !"

Never was cry of distress more promptly heeded ! For priests, and politicians, and lawyers, and merchants, and manufacturers, and editors, with all the rank and file of bigotry and brutality, over the whole North, joined hands fraternally, and gave sacred pledge that, by all dastardly expedients and lawless instrumentalities, they would put down the "agitators," and stand by their brethren of the South ! These are historical facts, all duly recorded and authenticated in the black letter-book of Time.

So potent, then, is the money-giving principle, in the cause of Humanity ! Such is the adaptation of means to ends ! An abolitionism which does not open purse, pocket-book and drawer, is like faith without works, dead—an abstraction, a non-entity. It is not by words that men are known—it is by their fruits. And how multitudinous, how soul-quickenings are the inducements held out to abolitionists, that they should make liberal sacrifices of their perishable substance in such a crisis as this ! Though signal has been their liberality,—compared with other bodies of men,—yet they have not by any means attained to the highest point of duty in this matter. As a mass, they have failed duly to appreciate the importance of keeping the treasuries of their various associations well supplied. Many, though abundantly able to do much, have done little or nothing ; leaving the burden to be sustained by the generous few. No humane enterprise has been signalized by nobler instances of indi-

vidual munificence, from the widow's two mites to costly gifts ; but much more is demanded from the aggregate.

Upon the subject of funds, the Board of Managers would dwell a moment longer, with special urgency. In guaranteeing to the Parent Society the sum of \$10,000 from this State, during the year ending May 1, 1839, they felt confident that it would be raised with due punctuality—making proper allowance for the time it would require to complete the necessary financial arrangements under the new relation. By reference to the Report of the Treasurer, it will be seen that a considerable amount is due on the last quarterly instalment, ending November 1st ; and that on the 1st of February, which is near at hand, another instalment of \$3000 becomes due ; making in the aggregate the sum of \$3,600. In consequence of this deficiency, a formal proposition has been made to the Board, from the Executive Committee at New York, that the State Society immediately recede from its independent position, and nullify the contract between the parties.

To this proposition, the Board have not felt willing to accede, for various reasons.

In the first place, sufficient time has not been allowed to test the feasibility of the experiment. Owing to peculiar circumstances, it was not until some time in June that any steps were taken to prepare, and carry into execution, a plan of financial operations for the State. It is not an easy matter to arrange all the parts of a complicated machine. When once it is fairly completed, great reliance may be placed upon the uniformity of its results. While it is not unreasonable, therefore, for the Executive Committee of the Parent Society, especially in its present embarrassed state, to urge with some degree of importunity the prompt fulfilment of our pledge, it seems to be an impeachment of the honor and faith of the Society, for them to ask an instantaneous change in our relationship. That every fraction of the sum guaranteed to the Parent Society will be honorably liquidated, the Board entertain not a doubt ; though not so punctually as was contemplated at the time of making

the agreement. At least, they are of opinion, that a better judgment can be formed upon this subject at the time of the national anniversary in May next, than at present. In the interim, it should be the special object of the new board to devise ways and means for cancelling the entire pledge at the expiration of the last quarter. It is proper to add, that among the causes which have operated to prevent the completion of our pecuniary engagement, the Middlesex election has been prominent—an election which yet remains undecided, which is exciting extraordinary interest throughout the country, and which has for some time past almost wholly engrossed the attention and labors of our principal lecturers, who else would have been busy in procuring funds. The importance of exerting as much influence as possible upon the Fourth District, to secure the election to Congress of a consistent, thorough-going abolitionist, has been felt and acknowledged by none more heartily than by the members of the New-York Executive Committee.

The Board have felt unwilling, in the second place, to comply with the proposition of the Committee, because they are confident that the State Society is competent to manage the anti-slavery affairs of this Commonwealth, upon the plan suggested at the annual meeting in New York, and mutually agreed upon by all the delegates. If that plan should now be abandoned, all the original difficulties and embarrassments which loudly demanded its adoption would at once recur, creating much confusion and uncertainty in the modes of action to be pursued. No definite rules could be laid down for the guidance of the financial agents of either society, who would be liable frequently to cross each other's track, and to find their labor in vain, both to the annoyance of abolition contributors, and the injury of the cause. Under the present arrangement, every thing is well defined; there is no chance for misapplied exertion; the duties and obligations of all are clearly understood.

There is another reason (which has already been commented upon) why the Board think it unadvisable for the Society to relinquish its independency. It is, that, as far as practicable,

the responsibilities of the cause should be divided among the several State Societies ; that there should be an equal distribution of controlling power ; and that no body of men ought to be entrusted with the exclusive management of so great an enterprise. No reflection is intended to be cast upon any person or persons by these remarks. Up to this hour, there has been perfect harmony of feeling between the Parent Society and its auxiliaries. The Executive Committee are entitled to great commendation for the manner in which they have discharged the responsible duties of their station. What changes shall be made in that Committee, it is impossible to foresee : it is believed that none are contemplated. But, in the course of events, another class of men, less faithful and single-hearted, may peradventure hold the reins of government, who, at a favorable moment, will not hesitate to abuse their power. If such a body should have the monopoly of anti-slavery funds, and the appointment and control of the agents engaged in the cause, it is easy to see how easily they might usurp authority, and change the aspect of our unpopular movement. In laboring together to emancipate the victims of oppression, there ought to be no envy, no jealousy, one of another. But "all are not Israel, who are of Israel" ; and we shall have good cause to be very jealous, very watchful, very anxious, to the end of this great controversy. Both Church and State are in league to crush us. What they cannot do by fair means, they will try to accomplish by foul. They will endorse our principles as sound in the abstract, and so avow themselves to be abolitionists, that they may gradually change our measures. We must remember that Satan is seldom able to do much mischief, except when he assumes the form of an angel of light. Of the roaring lion, all may take warning, and flee. The abolition enterprise is not the building of a railroad, or the digging of a canal ; it is not matter, but spirit : and therefore it is not to be carried on by proxy, or exclusively managed by a party, sect, or committee. Like the gospel, it calls for individual reformation, individual responsibility, individual freedom and activity. Its temple must be

built up of lively stones, or it will crumble beneath its own weight. It belongs to the "common people," not to the aristocracy. Its power should remain with the many, not be lodged with the few.

During the past year, the Board have endeavored to appoint as many local agents, to lecture upon the subject of slavery in specific regions in this State, as could be found willing and qualified to assume the task, at no other charge than the payment of travelling expenses. Their endeavors have been seconded by several county societies, with some degree of success. The consequence has been, that more meetings have been held, more lectures delivered, and, it is believed, more converts made, than during any preceding year. With only one or two exceptions, no attempts have been made to interrupt the meetings in a lawless manner; though obstructions have been frequently thrown in the way, by the closing of meeting-houses, to prevent the advocates of emancipation being heard by the people.

On the 1st of March last, the Rev. Alanson St. Clair was appointed one of the travelling agents of the Society; since which time, he has been actively engaged in lecturing, excepting for a brief period when he was disabled by being upset in a stage-coach, in returning from some important meetings in the western part of the State.

The Rev. Philemon R. Russell, of Lynn, and the Rev. Daniel Wise, of Quincy, have also devoted much of their time to the furtherance of the cause, and have lectured to great acceptance. Several other clergymen have also done much, in this manner, to rectify and enlighten public sentiment. Among the laymen who have spoken with eloquence and power in behalf of insulted humanity, the names of Wendell Phillips and Edmund Quincy, of Boston, and John W Browne, of Lynn, deserve honorable mention.

The Rev. Amos A. Phelps, as the General Agent of the Society, has labored abundantly, and with untiring zeal. The plan of operations, drawn up by him, and sanctioned by the Board, for the guidance of the State, county, and town socie-

ties, throws a due amount of responsibility upon each, and is well adapted to promote a lively action through the whole body. As far as it has been carried into effect, the result has been highly advantageous.

Mr. Phelps having been called to the pastoral charge of the Free Church, worshipping in the Marlboro' Chapel, in Boston, resigned his agency on the first of January. The vacancy was subsequently filled by the choice of Henry B. Stanton, on the part of the Board. Strong hopes were entertained that he would be induced to accept the office ; but he has declined, on the ground of the unwillingness of the Executive Committee at New-York to discharge him from his present station. As the election of a new Board is to be made immediately, it has been thought proper to leave the appointment of a General Agent to that body.

Though officially connected with the Parent Society, Mr. S. has given a large portion of his time to the interests of the cause in this Commonwealth. Of his zeal, his talents, his many excellent qualifications, it is superfluous to speak. Especially worthy of all commendation have been his labors in the Fourth District, to prevent the choice of a representative to Congress, for whom Liberty might have cause to blush, and Humanity cause to mourn. As the strongest evidence that his course has been perfectly impartial toward both political parties, that he has rebuked them with equal fidelity, it is only necessary to add, that he is denounced, calumniated, proscribed by the leaders of those parties—now branded as a whig, and anon as a tory. Amid the din and heat of the conflict, however, he has neither quailed nor grown weary ; his rallying-cry has been heard above all clamorous sounds ; and again and again have the friends of the slave, animated by his warm appeals, met the shock of opposing hosts triumphantly.

Since the standard of emancipation was first flung out to the breeze, no local election in this country has excited so intense and wide an interest as that which is now pending in old Middlesex. It not only happens that the rival political parties are



heavily balanced, so that a very small corps of reserve can prevent a choice; but it also happens that a large portion of the electoral strength in the District belongs to the abolitionists, who, it is estimated, if true to their principles, might easily cast some twelve or fifteen hundred votes. Holding, then, in their hands, the balance of power overwhelmingly, for them to allow any but a tried, undoubted friend of immediate emancipation to succeed, would be a burning disgrace to themselves, and make political abolition a hissing and a proverb. How faithfully they have withstood all attempts to put them in party traces,—with what ease they have twice defeated an election,—who that “hath ears to hear,” and eyes to see, has not heard and witnessed? Another trial is to be made on the first Monday in February, the same obnoxious candidates being in nomination. On the first trial there were more than 300, on the second more than 600 scattering votes cast. On the third, it is confidently expected the number will be greatly augmented—and so on, until one or both of the rival parties shall consult the rights of the North, and the claims of bleeding humanity, in nominating a suitable candidate.

If Messrs. Brooks and Parmenter had been *avowedly* hostile to the anti-slavery cause, a much stronger opposition would have been brought out against them. But every effort was made by their partizans, to induce the abolition electors to believe that they were “good men and true,” the fast friends of immediate emancipation. Some of the leading whig organs,—conspicuous, for the last five years, for their unmitigated opposition to our principles and measures,—gravely expressed their astonishment, that any fault should be found with the abolitionism of Nathan Brooks! It was pronounced to be of a genuine stamp, ultra even to the letting down of the heavens, if justice were only done! These story-tellers were too doltish to perceive, that *their* very endorsement of Mr. B’s anti-slavery character furnished strong circumstantial, not to say positive evidence of its unsoundness. In declaring his coin to be pure gold, they proved it to be counterfeit. On the other hand, the papers friendly to

William Parmenter asserted, that the spirit of his abolitionism was at least 100 per cent. better than that of Mr. Brooks! These strong but deceptive representations,—joined to that sorcery-spell of party, from which so few of the people have been able wholly to emancipate themselves,—doubtless induced a number of abolition voters, whose vision is yet somewhat imperfect, to cast their suffrages in favor of these candidates, according to their party predilections—while others refrained from going to the polls, deeming it a matter of small consequence which way the scale might turn. In profession, therefore, the entire District assumed to be abolition—a fact which “our southern brethren” are particularly requested to chronicle in their note-book.

In respect to political action, the following is the course marked out by abolitionists to be pursued, with an undeviating step:

First, to interrogate all candidates for a seat in Congress, respecting their views on the subject of slavery and the slave trade, the admission of new slave states, the right of petition, &c.

Second, to vote for no man who refuses to reply, or whose answer is evasive or unsatisfactory.

Third, to make the doctrine of immediate emancipation the test-question.

Fourth, to regard the cause of the bondman as paramount to all party considerations—and, therefore,

Fifth, to vote for the candidate who appears to be the most trustworthy, whether he be called whig or democrat, or by whatever party name.

Guided by these plain rules, no consistent abolitionist residing in the Fourth District, can vote for either of the candidates now in nomination.

The reply of Mr. Parmenter is radically defective upon the main question. He is, of course, in favor of free discussion and the right of petition. He is not in favor of admitting into the Union another slave state. In his opinion, “the powers possessed by Congress should be exercised to prohibit the interstate slave-trade, and to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia—*whenever* such measures can be adopted consistently

with the safety of the nation." A man who is in doubt, whether it would be safe to stop the trade in "slaves and the souls of men" immediately,—who hypothecates danger upon the act of letting the oppressed go free—has no claim to the title of a democrat, and is surely not qualified to represent a free and Christian people.

Mr. Brooks persists in refusing to reply to the interrogations propounded to him. In so doing, he does not wish to be considered as lacking in courtesy, but conscientiously scrupulous on the score of duty. However satisfactory his reasons may appear to himself, the fact that he is unwilling to avow his opinions on fundamental questions, justly and necessarily precludes him from receiving the suffrages of abolitionists. It is his misfortune, if not his fault, that he cannot speak out his thoughts on all topics of importance,—especially respecting the sundering of human yokes and fetters, and the rightfulness of delivering him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor.

It is not a pledge, but an expression of opinion, an avowal of present conviction, that is solicited of him—though, if he really apprehends and cherishes the "self-evident truths" of the Declaration of Independence, if he believes in the inalienable rights of man, he ought not to shrink, for one moment, in *pledging* himself, by his allegiance to God and his abhorrence of tyranny, that he will do all that in him lies to procure, forthwith and forever, the emancipation of the men, women and children, who are by a bloody edict of Congress held in chains and slavery.

He cannot excuse himself, for not returning an answer, on the ground that "actions speak louder than words." The very fact, that he is questioned by so large and respectable a body of his fellow-citizens, is decisive proof that they do not regard his actions as perfectly satisfactory. Nor can he plead that he is unwilling to announce his present convictions of duty, lest he may find occasion hereafter to change them. He is not asked, what will be his belief next year, but what is it now? And the question which is put to him, is not one that any additional light can possibly require a different answer. It relates to the in-

alienable rights of mankind, which are made apparent in exact proportion to the amount of light radiated upon them. Nor may he allege that a letter from him, on the eve of an election in which he is interested, would serve to degrade him as one eager to secure votes by gilded professions. These are solemn times, which do not admit of trifling. This is no electioneering trick, nor is it a local matter. The inquiries which are made of him embody all that is valuable in republicanism, and vital in Christianity. They are not put for the purpose of annoyance, nor to injure his election, but in justice to the bleeding slave, and the cause of liberty itself, now outlawed in a land boasting of its unequalled regard for freedom and equality. And well he knows, that his case is not a peculiar one. His antagonist has also been fairly and respectfully interrogated on the same points. All over the free States, the same form of inquiry has been put to political candidates of all parties. Mr. Brooks, therefore, is without excuse for his silence; nay, in that he is dumb when his voice should be heard in clear and distinct tones, he deserves to receive the suffrage of no freeman. For if—as some of his friends assert—he is in favor of instant manumission, why does he not respond with his lips to the feelings of his heart, in the intelligible and generous language of Ireland's distinguished champion:—"I am an abolitionist. I am for speedy, immediate abolition. I care not what caste, creed or color, slavery may assume:—I am for its total, its instant abolition. Whether it be personal or political, mental or corporeal, intellectual or spiritual, I am for its immediate abolition. I enter into no compromise with slavery. I am for justice, in the name of humanity, and according to the law of the living God."

These strictures are made, not merely with special reference to the case of Mr. Brooks, but as applying to many similar instances, in this and other States, in which candidates have refused to answer the queries submitted to them, on the ground that they cherished too high a regard for individual freedom and independence to make any pledge, or express any opinion, in relation to the manner in which, if elected, they will discharge

the highest and most solemn obligations that can rest upon accountable beings.

In order to breed mutual distrust and jealousy in the minds of the abolition voters in the Fourth District, it has been falsely asserted by the whig organs, that nearly all the scattering votes have been cast by the whigs; that democratic abolitionists have closely adhered to their party views; and that all this excitement is an artful manœuvre, on the part of democracy, to re-elect William Parmenter by the aid of whig votes. Not to be outdone in untruthfulness, the democratic papers have brought the same charge of treachery against the whig abolitionists. The infamous conclusion of all these organs is, that the slave should be left to perish in his chains; that, because the members of one political party are basely recreant to their principles and professions, it is the bounden duty of members belonging to the opposite party to imitate their scandalous example! The logic is on a par with its morality. What if it were true, that on one part there is arrant duplicity—on the other, perfect integrity? The fact, then, is as honorable to the one, as it is disgraceful to the other; and, instead of being an argument for universal profligacy, it imposes still higher obligations upon the “faithful among the faithless found” to be unyielding in their adherence to principle. Abolitionists are about equally divided among both political parties. They meet in convention just before an important election, and, seemingly in good faith, and with unusual solemnity, pledge themselves before God and the world, that, despite all party trammels and predilections, they will go to the polls, remembering those in bonds—bound with them, and bestow their suffrages upon whig or democrat who will go farthest in his opposition to slavery. It subsequently appears that there was no sincerity on the part of some, in making this pledge. With unblushing effrontery, the faithful and true are counselled, by those who would lead them by the nose obsequiously, to behave in the same treacherous manner, and thus show to the world that they neither fear God, nor regard the dying captive, whose cause they have pretended to commiserate. Monstrous

inhumanity ! The acme of devilish advisement ! As if hypocrisy in others be an all-sufficient reason why it should be exemplified in us ! As well might it be argued, that because one man has proved to be a thief, and a violater of social and governmental stipulations, all other members of the body politic are released from their moral obligations, and ought to turn thieves *en masse* !

But it is not true, that any hollow-heartedness, any fraud, has been evinced by the abolitionists of either party in the Fourth District, at either of the recent trials to elect a representative to Congress. On the contrary, it is demonstrated by the official returns, duly authenticated by the Governor and Council, that they have acted in good faith, and performed their duty well and truly. Indeed, the exact relative proportion of scattering votes to the whole number given by each political party, is a most gratifying and extraordinary coincidence—proving not only the general fidelity of abolition voters in that District to their cause, but also the equal prevalence of anti-slavery sentiments in both parties. On the last trial, the whole number of votes thrown was 8498 ; of which Nathan Brooks received 3862, and William Parmenter 3985. The number of scattering votes given was 658 ; of which 307 were cast by whig abolitionists, and 351 by democratic abolitionists,—as ascertained by the well known political character of the individuals for whom these votes were thrown. This result is as cheering to the friends of emancipation throughout the country, as it is disheartening to its enemies. Can it be doubted that those who have met with unbroken phalanx the united forces of the two great parties, and turned the tide of victory in favor of humanity, will remain steadfast to the end of the conflict, through a hundred onsets ?

#### DEFECTION IN CENTRAL NEW-YORK.

It cannot be denied, that, while the anti-slavery electors of Middlesex have thus honorably sustained their profession, others who have taken upon their lips the same promises, in some oth-

er parts of the country, have shamefully apostatized in the day of trial, and thus betrayed the cause they professed to regard as sacred. A most humiliating spectacle has been presented in central New-York, in the open desertion from our standard of a large body of abolition voters, belonging almost exclusively to the whig party. Men who could stand up unflinchingly in the midst of the Utica mob of 1835—who, from an early period, had been storm-proof against every assault—who even had found strength to snap asunder their sectarian ties, rather than abandon the slave—have been found unable to carry out their principles at the ballot-box, though they had in public assemblies, and over their own sign-manual, given a pledge to abandon all party considerations in their reverence for principle! This lamentable defection has well-nigh made shipwreck of our cause in that quarter. The contemplation of it is heart-sickening. It may, however, be overruled for good. In the end, nothing is lost by a separation of the true from the false; though, for a time, treachery may succeed in producing disastrous effects. If it must be so that only three hundred can be found disposed to lap water with their tongues, let them not fear; the Lord shall deliver the Midianites into their hands—for the battle is his, and he saveth not by sword and spear. But, notwithstanding the plottings of some, and the apostacy of others, there are thousands who have never bowed the knee to Baal. Even in central New-York, a goodly number went through that fiery ordeal, “unseduced, unterrified,” and came out without having so much as the smell of fire upon their garments. Among those who were most conspicuous for their zeal and devotion, their clear sightedness and loyalty, at that alarming crisis, was our fire-proof coadjutor WILLIAM GOODELL, editor of the “Friend of Man,” and that eminent philanthropist, GERRIT SMITH, of Peterboro’. All that men could do to reclaim the deserters, and prevent the utter ruin of our cause in that quarter, they manfully performed. They spoke trumpet-tongued, and their notes of tender remonstrance and solemn warning were not heard in vain. Already some have repented, and brought forth fruits

meet for repentance. Others, convicted of sin in their own minds, and too proud or too corrupt to make any confession, have branded these excellent men with every odious epithet, and joined with our most bitter assailants in impeaching their pure motives, and traducing their spotless characters. In every great reform, there will occur apostacies and seditions, and those who remain the truest to its great purpose, must expect to be black-balled and reviled by the false-hearted, in the worst manner.

#### GERRIT SMITH'S NEW PLAN.

Afflicted by these sad developments, and somewhat disheartened in consequence,—and to prevent, if possible, their recurrence,—Mr. Smith proposes a new anti-slavery organization, which he thinks will remedy the evil. He says:

“ Let the abolitionists, who are determined to maintain their principles in all circumstances, and who are unwilling to have abolition fellowship with those professed abolitionists, who can lay down their principles at the bidding of a demagogue— let such, I say, organize themselves into new anti-slavery associations, whose constitutional laws shall forbid the members voting for pro-slavery men, for law-makers—for men, who refuse to avow their belief in the doctrine of immediate deliverance from the yoke of slavery. Let this be done, and the present anti-slavery societies will, of course, fall speedily to the ground; even more speedily than did the wine-tolerating temperance societies, after the introduction of the ‘ new pledge.’ And then it will be understood, to the praise of an abolitionist, and to the glory and profit of his cause, that a member of an anti-slavery society is one who never, in any circumstances, or under any temptation, votes for a slaveholder, or a slaveholder’s apologist; and then slaveholders will as soon presume to offer to sell their slaves to Quakers, as profligate politicians will to offer their pro-slavery votes to members of anti-slavery societies.”

In anticipating the objections that might be raised to a new organization, Mr. Smith goes on to remark—

“ It may be further objected to my proposition, that the principles set forth in the constitutions of our present anti-slavery societies clearly and fully cover the whole ground of the political action, which is proper on the part of abolitionists. I admit it. I admit that he, who subscribes to the doctrine, that slavery is a palpable and an enormous sin, leaves himself entirely without excuse for voting for the abominable system. But, it must be remembered, that we live in a land where a decided majority of the public teachers of religion admit the plea of expediency for waiving



the application of even the fundamental principles of that religion. Whilst, on the one hand, many of them are constrained to admit, that there is sin in forbidding marriage and the reading of the Bible, and in marking men as beasts; on the other, they are found pleading with paternal solicitude, that the system whence these blasphemies naturally and necessarily flow, may be spared a little longer. Living in such a land, where even the expounders of religion authorize the disjoining of practice and profession, we cannot safely infer a man's practice from his admitted principles. If we could, then you would have been contented with the joint declaration of the whig candidates for Congress in your district, 'that slavery is a moral evil.' But, living as you do, in a land of expediency—India-rubber-Christianity—this admission, that slavery is sin, gave you no sufficient reason, nor indeed any reason at all, for concluding that the candidates who made the admission would, if elected, treat slavery as a sin, and exert their influence for its immediate overthrow.

Let it be distinctly understood, that the form of the Constitution, which I recommend, is one that forbids the members of the society voting wrong, and not one that enjoins their voting right. For, whilst no honest man will knowingly vote against his moral principles, there are thousands of good men, who have conscientious objections against voting at all.

The point conceded by this earnest advocate of righteousness, that 'there are thousands of good men, who have conscientious objections against voting at all,' is one among the many strong reasons, which, in the opinion of the Board, may be urged against his plan. Such men, under the new organization, (and all the women, likewise, who are prohibited from voting,) would probably be excluded, and either remain unorganized, or constitute themselves into separate societies. Thus a wide, and, in one aspect at least, an invidious separation will be made between those who are *perfectly agreed upon fundamental principles*, and who are now joined heart to heart, and hand to hand. It is easy to perceive, that if any other test than that of PRINCIPLE be set up—if *modes of action*, about which there will certainly be conflicting opinions, be made 'parts and parcel' of the common standard—instead of being a united, we shall be a divided house: and a house divided against itself cannot stand. There would be room for invidious comparisons, for hurtful jealousies, for fatal rivalries. Our means would no longer flow into a common treasury, and our measures would cease to be harmonious.

Before making further criticisms upon this important proposition, (a proposition conceived in singleness of heart, and with a

noble object in view,) the Board would adduce its excellent originator as a witness to testify against its utility. After stating that the deliberations of Abolitionists long since resulted in the determination to refuse to vote for any other men than those who, if elected to the national and state legislatures, would do what they could towards effecting a repeal of the laws upholding the execrable slave-system, Mr. Smith proceeds :

“ Having determined upon this course, we resolved as was natural, over and over again, in our public meetings—in the meetings of our town and county and state Anti-Slavery Societies—and called on God to witness the sincerity and fixedness of our resolutions, that innocently we could not—and that therefore we would not—give our votes for a candidate for a seat in either the National or State Legislatures, who was unwilling to declare himself in favor of the great principles and measures of the anti-slavery association. In addition to this, our anti-slavery publications brought these resolutions, and the perfectly conclusive reasons for them, to the fire-side of every abolitionist.

We now began to hope confidently, that we should very soon see our State Legislatures composed of the friends of impartial and universal liberty, and very soon have an *abolitionized* Congress, that would rid the District of Columbia of Slavery—abolish the inter-state traffic in immortal beings—and shut the door of the Union against the further admission of slave holding States. But, alas! a dark cloud has come over our bright prospects. The abolitionists of the state of New York, in spite of their vows and pledges, and in spite of the upright example of a large proportion of their New-England brethren, have shown their willingness to sacrifice the holy cause of crushed humanity on the polluted altar of party politics.”

Here it will be seen, by Mr. Smith's own admissions, that, notwithstanding their assent to the principles of the anti-slavery organization—their resolutions in town, county and state meetings, not to prostitute their suffrages to party purposes—their solemn appeals to God to witness the sincerity of their hearts—they have (in the State of New York) ‘ shown their willingness to sacrifice the holy cause of crushed humanity on the polluted altar of party politics ’ ! What, then, is to be gained by a new organization ? What stronger pledge can be made, what higher sanctions enforced, than those just recapitulated ? If men calling themselves abolitionists can so easily break through all these restraints, and falsify all these promises, at the bidding of demagogues, and at the same time, by an ingenious process of political casuistry, satisfy themselves that they have not de-

parted from the faith, of what avail to such men will be a political clause in the constitution, binding them not to vote for pro-slavery candidates? It is not a political, but a moral lesson that is taught us by a defection so lamentable. If the abolitionists in central New York had been sound in principle, they would have been upright in practice; they would have faithfully redeemed their pledge. Hence they need to be converted, and become as a little child—to be baptized into the spirit of humanity—before any new promise from them may be relied upon. It is inward light that men need for their safe guidance in action. If the law be not written upon their own hearts, all outward stipulations, (whether graven upon tables of stone, or written upon parchment, or printed upon paper,) will avail nothing.

Mr. Smith is sanguine that the adoption of his plan cannot fail to produce the most salutary effects. His language is,—‘The members of the new societies would have happy fellowship, and act in useful concert with each other. Want of confidence, disgust and disunion have now taken the place of that fellowship and concert, which once characterized the great body of the abolitionists of the State.’ How all this evil is to be averted, and this happy fellowship ensured, by a mere political promise, it is difficult to perceive. A short trial only, the very next election, would expose the fallacy of the scheme. There is, there has been no reluctance, on the part of the professed friends of our cause, to *promise* to be faithful at the polls; but the grand difficulty is, to make all see eye to eye as to the abolition character of the several candidates. Those members of anti-slavery societies in New York, who voted in favor of the election of William H. Seward, doubtless persuaded themselves that they acted up to the spirit of their pledge. Nay, it is certain that they resent the impeachment of their abolition integrity as a libel. Other men, whose spirits were unshackled by party trammels, and whose vision was unclouded by party mists, beheld at a glance their glaring inconsistency of conduct. What is the remedy for this evil? Ten thousand new promises, on the part of such blind and pliant electors,

would be nothing better than empty breath in the trial-hour of their integrity. At every new election, they would try to satisfy their consciences, that their favorite candidates were the enemies of slavery, who would certainly vote right in all cases. Even in the Fourth District, there are whig abolitionists who persist in advocating the pretensions of Nathan Brooks, and democratic abolitionists who support William Parmenter. These men feel themselves deeply injured in being accused of abandoning the anti-slavery standard ; but that they are false to their professions, that they love party more than they regard the slave, who that has a perfect vision does not see ? It is the moral sentiment—the innate, abiding conviction of the awful criminality of slavery—that alone can regulate the elective franchise of the individual. But a mere agreement to do a certain act, sheds no new light upon the mind, quickens no moral instinct, informs not the understanding. We must build upon **PRINCIPLE**, or our labor will be in vain. It is the **HEART** we must conquer, and then we may trust the **INTELLECT**. If we rely upon a form of words, upon any organization, to keep us from pursuing a devious course, we shall at any time be in danger of falling away. If, in a cause, a struggle like this, our souls are not ‘fastened to the throne of God as with hooks of steel,’ we may not expect to be able to abide the day of visitation.

There is another serious objection to the plan of Mr. Smith. If specifications are essential in our Constitutions, respecting the manner in which abolitionists shall act as members of the **STATE**, they are not less essential in relation to the manner in which they shall act as members of the **CHURCH**. We shall need, therefore, a clause to this effect—that members, who are connected with any church, do pledge themselves that they will not hear any pro-slavery minister preach ; nor sit at a communion-table with those who proscribe their colored brother ; nor occupy a seat in any meeting-house in which a man is forced into an obscure corner on account of his complexion ; nor be connected with a church which fellowships slaveholders—&c.

How apparent it is, that if we once begin in this manner to make specifications, we shall not know when to end ! A huge volume would not suffice to contain them. This is to make a measure, instead of a principle, the basis of our organization. And is it not as essential that the CHURCH should be purified, as that the STATE should be reformed ? Is it not of as much importance to secure right religious, as it is right political action ? Is there not as frequent violations of integrity on the part of religious, as there is on the part of political anti-slavery professors ? Is it not true, that, comparatively, there are very few who are willing to stand by the sighing bondman under all circumstances, and in every extremity ? The simplicity, safety, efficiency of our organization, depend upon its continuing to be based upon certain fundamental principles, leaving the application of those principles to be settled by the judgment and conscience of its members.

There is yet another important consideration to be urged against the proposed organization. It would probably embody but a small portion of the moral power now existing in the present association ; for few besides legal voters, and those who believe it is their duty to engage in political action, would be likely to join it, by abandoning the present organization. If any attempt be made, directly or indirectly, (as is strenuously advised by certain abolitionists,) to declare that it is the duty of all abolitionists to go to the ballot-box, then it follows that those who think otherwise, must be treated as recreant to duty. The Board deny that it is competent for any anti-slavery society, by its votes or through its organ, to arraign either the political or religious views of its members. It may with no more propriety decide, that one man is morally bound to cast a vote at the polls, than that another man is morally bound to unite himself to the church. On this subject, there are many conflicting but honest opinions entertained by abolitionists. All that a society or its organ may rightfully do, is to entreat its members to abide by their principles, *whether in the church or out of it, at the polls or elsewhere* ; to vote for no man, who is not in fa-

vor of immediate emancipation ; to listen to no preacher, who apologises for slavery.

In a careful review, therefore, of the whole subject, the Board are satisfied that nothing will be gained by the new organization ; that much may be lost by it ; that it will not probably embody as much moral power as the old one ; that it presents no new motives for action, advances no new principles ; that it would seem to wear a political rather than a moral aspect ; and that the sanguine hopes of its noble projector would never be realized. They believe that the present anti-slavery societies are adapted to accomplish all that can be done by human organizations for the peaceful abolition of slavery ; that they are slowly, but surely, effecting great and salutary changes, both in Church and State ; that they are based upon the eternal principles of right and justice ; and, therefore, that it would not be good policy to abandon them for a doubtful and an untried experiment.

The Board desire not to be misunderstood in this matter. They have no faith in the efficacy of a political pledge, if adopted as the fundamental principle of anti-slavery organizations at their inception. The Board would not discourage its use as a temporary measure in particular districts, or on special exigencies. In these latter circumstances, the *application* of the rule recognized in the particular pledge, would be wholly free from difficulty. If adopted as one of the fundamental articles of the anti-slavery enterprise, the uncertainty of its application would soon render it futile ; and it would probably divide the strength and alienate the funds of those who now pour their contributions into a common treasury, and who are now unitedly endeavoring to overturn the whole system of American slavery.

Among the many important events which have transpired in this Commonwealth, since the last annual meeting, the holding of the Young Men's State Anti-Slavery Convention, at Worcester, in October last, is to be regarded as highly auspicious. More than four hundred delegates were in attendance—the pride and flower of the State. The spirit, the harmony, the lofty purpose of soul, the moral determination to stand by the

cause of outraged liberty at all hazards, which pervaded that rare and select assembly, have perhaps never been exhibited so fully in any preceding convention, excepting the one held in Philadelphia in 1833, from which was issued the Declaration of Anti-Slavery Sentiments. A series of resolutions on political action, drawn up by that great statesman and rare philanthropist, WILLIAM GOODELL, was very ably discussed, and adopted with perfect unanimity. One of these resolutions was expressed in the following solemn language :

Resolved, That, by the grace of God, no motives of political expediency, of partizan interest, of personal friendship, or any other consideration, shall tempt us, under any possible circumstances, to vote for slavery, by voting for members of the national or state Legislatures, who will not go to the utmost verge of their constitutional powers, in acting for its abolition; nor will any of us, who hold it right, in any case, to exercise the right of suffrage, neglect the opportunity to record our votes against slavery, whenever a candidate of good moral character, and heartily in favor of immediate emancipation, shall be nominated in the District of our location, irrespective of the political party to which he may belong, or of the pecuniary or partizan interests which may be supposed to be involved.

When this resolution was put for adoption, the whole body of delegates rose on their feet, en masse, in its support.

#### THE "WOMAN QUESTION."

In the progress of our holy cause, incidental occurrences are from time to time transpiring, which, though strictly in furtherance of its one great object, are calculated to create a lively sensation in our ranks. It is well that abolitionists should know what spirit they are of, and what is the nature of the ground upon which they stand. The more freedom they enjoy in their own souls, the better qualified they will be to "proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." Among the incidents alluded to has been a discussion upon what has been technically called "the woman question." It is remarkable that this subject was first agitated by the "Pastoral Association" of Massachusetts, in their spiritual Bull against the anti-slavery labors of those distinguished women, Sarah M.

and Angelina E. Grimké. It was thrust, therefore, upon the consideration of the great body of abolitionists. At the last annual meeting of the New-England Anti-Slavery Convention, which was held in Boston, and attended by delegates from eleven States, it was

“Voted, That all persons present, or who may be present at subsequent meetings, whether men or women, who agree with us in sentiment on the subject of slavery, be invited to become members, and participate in the proceedings of the Convention.”

This was adopted without opposition ; but, subsequently, it gave rise to a long and animated discussion, on a motion to rescind it. The Convention, however, adhered to the vote by a very large majority ; and the consequence was, that eight clergymen (all of one denomination) desired their names to be expunged from the roll of that body. Seven individuals signed their names to the following Protest :

“The undersigned, being of opinion that the action of the New-England Anti-Slavery Convention now in session, inviting women to vote, debate, and aid generally as members of this body, and refusing to reconsider the vote by which it was done, is injurious to the cause of the slave, by connecting with it a subject foreign to it; injurious as a precedent for connecting with it *other* irrelevant topics; and an innovation upon our previous usage in regard to the constituent elements of the Convention; ask leave to disclaim all responsibility in regard to said proceedings, by having this Protest endorsed upon the records, and published with the doings of the Convention.

CHARLES T. TORREY, Salem.

A. A. PHELPS, Boston.

THOMAS EDWARDS, Mendon.

SAMUEL D. DARLING, Mendon, N. H.

WM. THURSTON, Bangor, Me.

GEORGE TRASK, Warren, Mass.

C. SPARRY, New-York City.

This subject is certainly somewhat novel ; but, however inexpedient or improper it may be deemed by some, the Board do not see how it can be regarded as foreign or injurious to the cause of the slave. It is the grand object of the anti-slavery association to procure the liberation of two millions and a half



of human beings, of *both sexes* and all ages, from their prison-house of bondage. It aims to accomplish this humane work "through the foolishness of preaching,"—by the freedom of speech. The question then is, is it foreign to our object to allow in our meetings a free utterance of the soul, whether it be enshrined in a male or female form, on the subject of slavery? Can it be "injurious to the cause of the *slave*," in a meeting of those who subscribe to the same principles, and who aim to accomplish the same thing, to suffer all the friends of that helpless captive, without reference to sex, to plead his cause to the best of their ability? Do we not allow, nay, invite his *enemies* to show cause why he ought not to be emancipated? And shall we gag any of his *friends*, who may desire to lift up their voices in his behalf, merely because we have serious doubts, conscientious scruples it may be, as to the propriety of such a procedure? Shall we constitute ourselves the judges of this or that person's right to speak a word for God and humanity, in our meetings? Or shall we not leave every one to bear his or her own responsibility in the case, with all charity and long-suffering? True, it is pleaded by some, that their rights of conscience are invaded by conceding so much liberty to the other sex: but they forget, or do not choose to remember, that they in turn trample upon the consciences of those who desire to speak, and of those who think it right for them to speak, out of the fulness of sympathetic hearts. The only way, then, to adjust this "vexed question" harmoniously, is to differ in love, and let perfect toleration reign. Whichever way it may be deemed best to decide the question, if it be done by a majority, as is customary in our meetings, let the minority yield to the decision; being satisfied with having borne their testimony in accordance with their convictions of duty. Let there be no threats of withdrawal, no attempts to divide us, on this ground.

At the Convention alluded to, a committee of three persons was appointed, to prepare a memorial to be transmitted to the several ecclesiastical associations in New-England, beseeching them to testify against the further prolongation of the system

of slavery. One of the members of this committee was a female member of the Society of Friends, of superior talents, and great moral worth. In drawing up the memorial, the utmost pains seems to have been taken to be so guarded in language, so respectful in form, so particular in etiquette, as not to infringe upon the rights or privileges, even by implication, of any ecclesiastical assembly, nor to give any just cause of offence—as the following extracts will show :

The Fifth New England Anti-Slavery Convention, composed of delegates from all the New England States, assembled for the purpose of devising means to promote the abolition of American slavery, bound together by the strong ties of humanity, and actuated by a deep sense of responsibility to God, desires respectfully to call the attention of your body to that unfortunate portion of the human family, who, in this land of republicanism and christianity, and amidst the light of the nineteenth century, are held in degrading bondage ; and who have been pronounced by a southern church judicatory “ *the heathen of this christian country, who will bear comparison with heathen in any country in the world.*” In the performance of what they deem an imperious duty, the members of the Convention, as individuals and as a body, disclaim all right or intention to *dictate* to ecclesiastical bodies the course they ought to pursue. Far from it. They would address you, not because they have power as your constituents to demand any action on this or any other question ; but because, as moral beings, they believe it to be both right and proper for them to *beseech* those who profess to be the disciples of Jesus Christ, to bear a faithful testimony against the sin of oppression, and to open their mouths in behalf of the suffering and the dumb. As an ecclesiastical body, you are not amenable to them, but to your constituents, or to the Master whom you profess to serve ; and cherishing no disposition to invade even the smallest of your rights, they only ask the privilege of exhorting you, in the name of God and humanity, to “ *remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them.*”

Churches and ecclesiastical bodies exert a controlling influence over the public mind. The principles which they promulgate and the practices which they allow, fix the common standard of christian morality. Your memorialists are deeply impressed with the belief, that if the various denominations of professing christians in the free States would speak out on this question in a firm and decided tone, declaring slaveholding to be a heinous sin in the sight of God, and refusing, after proper admonition and remonstrance, to extend the band of christian fellowship or to open their pulpits to those who are guilty of upholding it, they would thereby do much towards breaking the fetters of the slaves. They have seen with pleasure, that many churches and ecclesiastical bodies have already spoken out in this manner ; and it is their earnest desire and prayer, that such examples may be followed by others, until professing christians of every name and denomination shall be united together in self-denying and persevering efforts to advance the cause of immediate and universal emancipation. Your memorialists, therefore, respectfully but earnestly *entreat* your body to take this subject into serious and prayerful consideration, and to act concerning it as the great interests of humanity and of Christ's kingdom demand.

On the presentation of this excellent memorial in the Rhode-Island Congregational Consociation, and it being made known that a woman was on the committee which drafted it, a scene of excitement ensued, scarcely equalled in abusiveness of language and violence of spirit, by any thing that has transpired in either house of Congress, on the part of the slaveholding members, by the presentation of anti-slavery petitions. The memorial was treated with all possible indignity, and deemed an outrage upon ecclesiastical prerogatives too outrageous to be borne. The editor of the *Christian Mirror* was present, who gave an account of this extraordinary affair to his readers. Of course, as he is among the many implacable enemies of our association, his account is to be relied on, in this particular. No part of it has been denied by any member of that Consociation, since it appeared in print. He relates it as follows :

At first, there seemed a disposition to give the document a favorable reception ; but as one thought it might be as well not to be hasty, and another expressed doubts whether any action at all were desirable upon it, the objections to it began to assume a positive character.

It was felt by Dr. Tucker, as an objection to its entertainment, that if ecclesiastical bodies were to receive, and discuss, and act upon any and every document which every *self-constituted* and *irresponsible* body, as such a convention was, chose to thrust before them, they might soon have ample business to fill up their time, without doing any part of that for which they were constituted and assembled. This objection was shown to be a weighty one, by the Doctor's remarks, and as such it was felt to be by the meeting.

It was urged by one of the corresponding members, that there was a scriptural objection in the way. Describing the condition of his ancient people, at a time of their lowest degradation, God, when he would express the consummation of their debasement, says—"As for my people, *children are their oppressors, and women, rule over them !*" It was *humiliating enough* to come under such rule, *im-perceptibly, or blindfolded*; but to *bow the neck with the eyes open, would be an aggravation of the disgrace and the humiliation*. My readers will understand that the Convention, from which the memorial, asking for ecclesiastical action, proceeded, was composed, in part, of women; and that of the Committee appointed to prepare it, one was a woman; and rumor had it, that when that committee reported, and exceptions were taken to the report, the question was carried by votes of the women.

Those brethren in the R. I. Consociation, who had been most earnest for the reception of the memorial, and for such action as it requested, on learning the character of its parents, united at once, in *turning the illegitimate product from the*

house, and in obliterating from the records all traces of its entrance. They were Christian and magnanimous enough to defer to scriptural principles, scriptural order, propriety, and decorum. "Doth not even nature itself teach you?" *What man, who loves and honors his wife, would himself feel honored by having her closeted in close consultation with two men, in the preparation of a public document? or in hearing her raise her voice in the debates of a deliberative assembly? Would it not be "all one as if she were shaven?"—shorn of her honor, her loveliness, her glory?*

These things, in time, will work their own cure. "*The Lord will smite with a scab the crown of the head*" of these obtrusive daughters. *He has already begun to do it.*

*If persons would control, or any way prompt the action of the church, let them first repent of their own sins, and become members of the church.*

No deliberative assembly ever behaved in a more unseemly manner. Those who thus contemptuously trampled under foot the humble and most respectful petition in behalf of bleeding humanity, are the professed ministers of Him who came to preach deliverance to the captive, and the opening of prisons to those who are bound!—Because a christian female joined her voice with others in supplicating them "to take this subject into serious and prayerful consideration, and to act concerning it as the great interests of humanity and of Christ's kingdom demand," the shocking declaration is made—"The Lord will smite with a scab the crown of the head" of these obtrusive daughters! And it is further declared, that "He hath already begun to do it"!

What would become of the interests of our merciful enterprise, if the management of it were entrusted to men entertaining sentiments like these, and actuated by such a spirit? Yet these are the men, all over the land, who are striving, by the most dishonorable means, and by all clerical artifices and appliances, to get possession of it, that they may destroy its vitality, and put an end to all "agitation;" so that neither they nor the church shall be disturbed in their guilty repose. Thus do these watchmen prove, in the language of the prophet, that "they are blind: they are all ignorant, they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark; sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber. Yea, they are greedy dogs which can never have enough, and they

are shepherds that cannot understand : they all look to their own way, every one for his gain, from his quarter."

While such determined efforts are making by the ecclesiastical powers of this country to crush a cause upon which is suspended the destiny of millions, the Board cannot withhold the expression of their gratification and thanks, at the note of warning, on this subject, which has been recently sounded by the *Emancipator*, the organ of the Parent Society. It is as timely as it is bold, clear and distinct. The following is the strain :

A few months ago, it was the opinion of some of our friends, that the whole mass of the clergy, in the free states, were about to drop their hostility to the anti-slavery cause, and would then gradually come round to its support. We now fear that this hope is destined to prove delusive; and that *many* of the professed ministers of the gospel are settling down in a fixed hatred of the principles of liberty, and a settled determination to maintain, at every hazard, the lawfulness of slavery, and the criminality of efforts for its removal. And they are evincing a readiness to abandon every *principle*, to impugn every *doctrine*, to violate every *obligation*, to outrage every *feeling*, to sacrifice every *interest*, heretofore held dear or sacred, if it is found to afford countenance or strength to anti-slavery. The war ecclesiastical is intended to be a war of extermination. The leaders are bent upon imitating Bonaparte, who used to boast that he was "conquering a peace," and was successful only as there was none left to resist. "The peace of the church," in nearly all of our large organizations, and in many hundreds of individual congregations, is committed on this issue; and the leaders are determined that the "peace of the church" shall exist only by the suppression of abolition, and the silence of its advocates. The battle on that side has fallen into new hands. Before the abolition probe had reached the depths of the sore, the assumption was universal, that every body was opposed to slavery, but abolition was impracticable. Hence our opposers of that day, vied with abolitionists themselves in their expressions of abhorrence of slavery. But in proportion as the good providence of God has so signally illustrated the practicability and beneficial consequences of abolition, it has been found necessary to put the defence of *slavery as it is*, into the hands of men who had not too strongly committed themselves against *slavery in the abstract*. Hence the coming forth of Emerson, Spring, and others, who have heretofore kept aloof.

Referring to a series of pro-slavery essays published in the *Boston Recorder*, by the Rev. Ralph Emerson, D. D. of Andover, the *Emancipator* goes on to say :

We only saw a portion of them, from which we ascertained that the drift of his argument was substantially this; that since the adoption of measures for the abolition of slavery was likely to hurt the *reputation* and *influence of the clergy*, it was therefore the duty of abolitionists to give over their efforts, and leave slavery to abolish itself.

Alluding to a letter which Rev. Dr. Osgood, of Springfield, published in the Recorder, in reply, the Emancipator adds :

The letter referred to, appears to us to be highly valuable as a part of the history of the ecclesiastical branch of this great conflict; and as placing in a just light the merits of a question which, we fear, *is destined to shake the churches of the North as with an earthquake.* For, as the present defenders of slavery have gone too far to retract, and as we cannot suppose the friends of abolition will consent to support slavery in the church after it is repudiated in the state, we see nothing that is to prevent a radical convulsion and revolution, that shall bring those christians who are friendly to universal freedom and justice, away from the entanglements and pollutions of pro-slavery ecclesiastics. We apprehend that even now, *certain zealous abolitionists will find it difficult to show their own consistency*, who severely rebuke their brethren for supporting dumb representatives at the polls, and are themselves supporting *dumb pastors* in the pulpit, or dumb agents in the great national societies "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partaker of her sins and her plagues," is already written on the great pro-slavery church, North and South, and consistent abolitionists will soon see it written as with a sun-beam.

To give due heed to this solemn warning, to follow implicitly his advice, will be the salvation of our cause. To disregard it will be to insure its ruin, and seal the fate of the republic of North America.

#### CONCLUSION.

It has not been deemed necessary to give, in this Report, even a synopsis of the numerous occurrences which have taken place in the republic during the past year, all deeply affecting the interests of the anti-slavery cause. These, with those which preceded them from the commencement of our struggle, must be left to the historian to arrange and elucidate. They are all placed on record in various publications, and are almost as familiar to those who are striving to abolish slavery, as "household words."

As legislative action is a fair criterion of the state of public sentiment, it may be well to state, that, since the last annual meeting of this Society, resolutions have been adopted by the Legislature of this Commonwealth, with entire unanimity, against the annexation of Texas—in vindication of the right of petition, and against the gag-act of Congress—in fa-

majority. The Legislature of Connecticut have repealed, by an almost unanimous vote, the infamous **BLACK ACT** which was passed by that body, in order to prevent the instruction of colored persons in that State from other sections of the country. They have also enacted a law, granting a jury trial to all persons claimed as runaway slaves ; and adopted resolutions against slavery in the District of Columbia, &c. &c.

Of the religious movements which have been made in New-England, the holding of a New-England Methodist Anti-Slavery Convention, in Lowell, in November last, and the thorough-going action of that body in opposition to slavery, may be regarded as among the most important. The **CALL** for that Convention was signed by **SEVENTEEN HUNDRED** persons, a large proportion of whom were local and travelling preachers, stewards, class-leaders, &c. !

On the first of August, 1838, complete emancipation was given to the apprenticed slaves in the West India Islands. The jubilee was observed with religious solemnities and joyful festivals. The "consequences" of this measure have been exceedingly beneficial. No blood has been shed, no plantation destroyed, no outrage committed, on the part of those, who, in one hour, were all "turned loose," by their masters, to "cut throats," or—"take care of themselves."

Of the most disgraceful and alarming occurrences which have transpired in the history of the abolition enterprise, the burning of **PENNSYLVANIA HALL** by a mob in Philadelphia, on the evening of the 17th May, by the consent of the inhabitants and authorities, stands out with startling prominence. For years, the friends of free discussion and of universal emancipation had been unable to obtain a suitable place, (though the city swarms with meeting-houses and public halls,) in which to prove that the North has something to do with slavery, and that slavery or the nation must be destroyed. Though their number was small, and their means limited, yet, with that resolution and enterprise which great emergencies inspire, they resolved upon erecting a building that should be an orna-

vor of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the inter-state slave trade, and against the admission of new slaveholding States into the Union. In the Senate of Maine, resolutions of a similar character have been rejected ! They were adopted, however, by the House, by a very small ment to the city, and worthy of the cause of FREEDOM ; in which men of all parties, sects and opinions,—slaveholders, colonizationists, abolitionists,—might be allowed to give free utterance to their thoughts. At an expense of more than \$40,000, such a building was completed, and dedicated to “ VIRTUE, LIBERTY, INDEPENDENCE.” From the hour that its corner-stone was laid, it was doomed to destruction by the demon-spirits of Slavery and Colonization, which have taken full possession of that polluted and oppressing city. The appalling facts, in relation to the burning of that noble edifice, are too well known to need recapitulation, in this connexion. In some respects, it evinced a more demoniacal spirit than even the dreadful tragedy at Alton. The murder of Lovejoy was probably not contemplated, as a part of their business, by the mob who destroyed his press ; nor did they attempt to fire the warehouse in which that press was stored, until late at night. But, in Philadelphia, even before the sun went down, the street was crowded with the rioters ; and scarcely had the orb of day disappeared beneath the horizon, before the torch was deliberately applied to the building, and by ten o’clock the wood-work of the hall was entirely destroyed. Not one drop of water was allowed to be thrown upon the flames by the mad populace. In the light of that conflagration, it is to be feared the fate of this guilty republic was visibly witnessed, when God shall arise to deliver the oppressed by a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, and shall consume the nation by the fire of his wrath ; and when the people shall gnaw their tongues in agony, and call in vain for a drop of water to quench their consuming thirst, and none shall be able to deliver their out of His hands !



**PROCEEDINGS**  
**OF THE**  
**MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,**  
**AT ITS**  
**SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING,**  
**HELD IN BOSTON, JANUARY 23, 1838.**

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In accordance with the terms of its Constitution, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society held its seventh annual meeting in the Marlboro' Chapel, Boston, on the 23d inst. FRANCIS JACKSON, President of the Society, took the Chair at 10 o'clock, A. M. John Pierpont, of Boston, addressed the Throne of Grace.

On motion of Alanson St. Clair—

Voted, That all persons present, in favor of immediate emancipation, be permitted to take seats, and participate in the proceedings of this meeting.

On motion of Oliver Johnson—

Voted, That three persons be appointed to act as Secretaries.

Whereupon, J. A. Collins, of Andover, C. T. Torrey, of Salem, and Wm. Bassett, of Lynn, were appointed.

On motion,

Voted, That the chair appoint a Business Committee of 12.

Whereupon, Amos A. Phelps, Wendell Phillips, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Edmund Quincy, Amasa Walker, of Boston, Samuel J. May, of South Scituate, H. B. Stanton, of New York, Orange Scott, of Lowell, J. T. Everett, of Princeton, Wm. Bassett, of Lynn, C. P. Grosvenor, of Worcester, and ——— Fowler, of Westfield, were appointed.

On motion,

Voted, To appoint a committee of 5 to prepare a roll of the meeting.

Whereupon,

Oliver Johnson, Geo. W. Benson, J. V. Himes, J. W. Alden, and John E. Fuller, were appointed.

The Treasurer, H. G. Chapman, presented his report, which was accepted.

On motion of Alanson St. Clair—

Voted, That a committee of one from each county represented, be appointed to nominate officers of the Society for the ensuing year; and that said committee be appointed by the chair.

Whereupon, Messrs. Garrison of *Suffolk*, Phelps of *Middlesex*, Buffum of *Essex*, Fowler of *Hampden*, Williston of *Hampshire*, May of *Plymouth*, Austin of *Dukes*, Philbrick of *Norfolk*, Ballou of *Worcester*, Congdon of *Bristol*, and Bassett of *Barnstable*, were appointed.

On motion of H. G. Chapman,

Voted, To appoint a committee of finance.

Whereupon, Messrs. Wise, Chapman, Fuller, Johnson, and Coddington, were appointed.

The President read a letter from David L. and Lydia M. Child.

The Annual Report of the Board of Managers was read by Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Corresponding Secretary; after which, the Society adjourned till afternoon.

HALF PAST 2 O'CLOCK, P. M.

The Society met pursuant to adjournment.

On motion of Wendell Phillips,

Voted, To lay the Annual Report upon the table for the purpose of taking up the proposition to establish a new anti-slavery paper.

Mr. Phillips, from the Business Committee, then submitted the following resolutions, remarking that the committee were not responsible for their contents, but that they brought them forward in order to afford opportunity for discussion upon a subject which had excited considerable interest.

Resolved, That the state of the Anti-Slavery cause in this Commonwealth, demands the establishment of an ably conducted, cheap, official organ, to be under the control of the Board of Managers of the State Society, issued weekly to subscribers; to advocate political as well as moral and religious action; to be exclusively confined to the objects of the Anti-Slavery cause, and edited by a man or men, who can conscientiously, heartily and consistently advocate all the anti-slavery measures, political as well as moral action; and that the salary of the editor or editors, together with all other necessary expenses thereof, be paid out of the funds of the Society.

Resolved, That the Board of Managers are hereby instructed to make arrangements, if practicable, with the proprietors and editor of the *Liberator*, to make that paper the organ aforesaid, and under the above restriction; or, if that cannot be done, that they take measures, as soon as practicable, to establish an organ, as recommended in the resolutions passed by the Worcester County North Division Anti-Slavery Society, at its late annual meeting in Fitchburg.

These resolutions elicited a warm and animated discussion, which lasted until the adjournment, and in which Messrs. St. Clair, Torrey, Phelps, Stanton, May, and others, took part.

## EVENING SESSION.

Prayer offered by Daniel Wise.

On motion of E. G. Loring,

Voted, That no person speak more than fifteen minutes without leave, nor more than once, until all who wish to speak have spoken.

The resolutions respecting a new paper were then taken up, and discussed by Messrs. Loring, Stanton, Phillips, Garrison, Sprague, Browne, Coddington, Hilton, Wright, Leavitt, Wise, and others; after which, at a late hour, they were *indefinitely postponed* by an immense majority. Adjourned to meet to-morrow morning, at half past 9 o'clock.

## THURSDAY, A. M.

Prayer by Job H. Martyn, of Haverhill.

On motion of Daniel Wise—Voted, That each person present, who is able to do so, be requested to pay \$1.00 towards defraying the expenses of the meeting.

The nominating committee reported a list of officers, which was unanimously adopted.

After some remarks on the Annual Report, by Mr. Leavitt of New York, the Society adjourned to give opportunity for the members to attend the anti-slavery meeting in Faneuil Hall.

## HALF PAST 2, P. M.

Prayer by Richard Thayer of Boston. Mr. Torrey of Salem introduced the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the part of the Annual Report in regard to the protest made in the New-England Convention, be referred to the Board, with instructions to amend it, by correcting the statement of facts in the case;—so as to make it appear that the signers of the protest and others withdrawing, were neither all clergymen, nor were the clergymen members of one denomination; nor did they all withdraw from the Convention.

Resolved, That the part of the Annual Report, in respect to political action, be referred to the Board with instructions to amend it, so as to conform to the original doctrines of this and other societies on this subject:—viz: That moral and political action are the appropriate and christian means of overthrowing slavery in our land.

The last of these resolutions was the subject of discussion, until the hour of adjournment.

## EVENING SESSION.

The Society met in the Representatives' Hall, which was crowded to overflowing. The meeting was addressed in a very able manner by Edmund Quincy, Wendell Phillips, Henry Colman and George Bradburn. Some remarks were also made by Mr. Hastings of Philadelphia, Dr. Brown of Amesbury, and E. N. Harris of Methuen.

The following resolutions were offered by Edmund Quincy, of Boston, and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the resolutions recently adopted by Congress, and known emphatically as the Gag Resolutions,—introduced as they were by the degenerate son of a free state, and sustained by the prostituted votes of the representatives of free States,—while they reflect disgrace of the deepest dye upon the whole country, cover the people of the free States, who refuse to protest against them, with the most damning infamy.

Resolved, That it is the duty of every lover of freedom to labor, without ceasing, to procure the utter erasure of these and all similar gag resolutions, from the archives of the land.

The following was offered by Wendell Phillips, and unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That the progress of our cause has brought to a fearful change in the public mind, in respect to the fundamental principles of our institutions, and the characteristics of the people of New England.

The following was offered by Henry Colman, of Boston, and unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That the cause of abolition is the cause of universal humanity.

The following was offered by H. C. Wright, and unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That we are as much as ever convinced of the cruelty and wickedness of the Colonization Society, and hereby renew our utter condemnation and abhorrence of that iniquitous scheme of expatriation and national ruin.

The following resolution was offered by Sylvanus Brown, of Amesbury, and unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That, as christian abolitionists, we rely, under God, on moral and spiritual power, exercised in conformity with our individual convictions of duty, for the overthrow of slavery throughout the world.

FRIDAY, 10 o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by Jehiel C. Beman, of Boston.

That part of the Annual Report which relates to the subject of political action, on motion of Mr. Sprague, was again read by Mr. Garrison.

Mr. St. Clair introduced a resolution on the subject of political action, which elicited a warm discussion ; after which, the following substitute was proposed by Mr. Garrison, and adopted by a large majority.

Resolved, That those abolitionists, who feel themselves called upon, by a sense of duty, to go to the polls, and yet purposely absent themselves from the polls whenever an opportunity is presented to vote for a friend of the slave—or who, when there, follow their party predilections to the abandonment of their abolition principles—are recreant to their high professions, and unworthy of the name they assume.

Mr. Torrey withdrew the resolution, introduced by him, on the subject of political action.

J. H. Martyn, of Haverhill, introduced the following resolution :

Resolved, That so much of the Annual Report as relates to the subject of woman's rights be struck out.

Rejected by an immense majority.

Orange Scott moved to strike out so much of the Annual Report as related to Gerrit Smith's plan of political action; which was rejected by a large majority.

It was then moved and seconded, that the Annual Report be accepted, and printed under the direction of the Board of Managers.

On this question, the yeas and nays were taken, and resulted as follows :

The following persons voted in the affirmative :

Wm. Lloyd Garrison,  
M. A. W. Johnson,  
Elizabeth Hayward,  
Annah Tafts,  
Abigail H. Folsom,  
Caroline S. Greenwood,  
Benj. P. Bassett,  
Sarah H. Southwick,  
George M. Rogers,  
Charlotte Hartford,  
Oliver Johnson,  
Francis Jackson,  
J. V. Himes,  
J. T. Hilton,  
Thos. O'Connell,  
J. B. Smith,  
Wm. Lewis,  
Wendell Phillips,  
Edmund Quincy,  
John Gregory, Jr.,  
H. G. Chapman,  
Maria W. Chapman,  
Catharina S. Barbadoes,  
Margaret L. Jones,  
Hannah S. Adams,  
David Keith,  
John Levi,  
Wm. Waterhouse,  
Joseph R. Hayes,  
Wm. F. Channing,  
Richard Thayer,  
Robert F. Walcott,  
Charles K. Whipple,  
Henrietta Sargeant,

John Rogers,  
Charles Tollen,  
Pamelia Morrill,  
Adam Oswell,  
Mary Pitts,  
G. W. F. Mellen,  
George Adams,  
John Bancroft,  
Deborah Weston,  
Louisa Loring,  
Roswell Goss,  
J. W. Lewis,  
Wm. Ashby,  
George Little,  
Benj. P. Chase,  
Wm. Estes,  
Pelatiah Purinton,  
Joseph Breed, 3d.,  
James N. Buffum,  
John H. Gove,  
Wm. Luscomb,  
P. R. Russell,  
Elizabeth R. Purinton,  
Lydia G. Keene,  
Caroline A. Chase,  
Wm. Bassett,  
Mary B. Bassett,  
Martha Hallowell,  
Lydia Thompson,  
Lydia M. Johnson,  
A. L. Breed,  
Benj. Luscomb,  
John Trask,  
Abby C. Newhall,

Huldah B. Gibson,  
 Abby M. Winslow,  
 George W. Keene,  
 J. W. Brown,  
 Sampson Cummings,  
 Edwin Thompson,  
 Wm. Ford,  
 Jesse Hutchinson,  
 David G. Dow,  
 Samuel Hallowell,  
 Israel Buffum,  
 J. A. Collins,  
 P. C. Pettibone,  
 Roswell Browne,  
 John B. Pierce,  
 D. J. Paul,  
 Elbridge Sprague,  
 Solomon Ford,  
 Charles K. Hood,  
 Sarah H. Earle,  
 Moses Emery,  
 H. E. Weston,  
 Almira Little,  
 Sarah G. Little,  
 Elizabeth Lewis,  
 Nathaniel H. Whiting,  
 Samuel Philbrick,  
 H. C. Wright,  
 Atkinson Stanwood,  
 Henry Lunt, Jr.,  
 John Bailey,  
 Wm. C. Coffin,  
 Mary T. Congdon,  
 Anna M. Bailey,  
 Reuben Pratt,  
 George Bradburn,  
 Wm. S. Jinnings,  
 Susan H. Kingsbury,  
 Angelina F. Wood,  
 Thos. Haskell,  
 John Park,  
 Wm. Perkins,  
 Osgood G. Boynton,  
 George O. Harmon,  
 Lou Richardson,  
 Andrew B. Harlow,  
 Amos Farnsworth,  
 Luther Boutelle,

Geo. W. Bancroft,  
 Willard H. Dow,  
 Benjamin Hall,  
 Alvan Ward,  
 S. W. Wilson,  
 Amos Daniels,  
 Eunice Messenger,  
 Joshua Coolidge, Jr.,  
 E. L. Capron,  
 Lemuel Stevens,  
 Nathaniel Harlow,  
 Edwin Morton,  
 Abigail Morton,  
 Ruth S. Harlow,  
 Johnson Davis,  
 S. J. May,  
 Geo. L. Clark,  
 James Crawford,  
 Wm. West,  
 Abner Newhall,  
 Isaiah Chase,  
 John A. Chase,  
 Hugh B. Louge,  
 Jehiel C. Beman,  
 S. P. Fowler,  
 Sarah Stearns,  
 Zilpha Harlow,  
 Thos. Henson,  
 Eliza Logan,  
 Isaac Knapp,  
 Wm. Lawson,  
 Lydia S. Ford,  
 Mehitable Ford,  
 Royal Southwick,  
 Wm. S. Bennett,  
 John Wooldredge,  
 Eunice R. Davis,  
 John S. Smith,  
 Sarah Norton,  
 Charles Hadwin,  
 Elizur Hayward,  
 Dorcas Ann Amos,  
 Mehitable Hallowell,  
 Julia A. Arnold,  
 Eleanor Johnson,  
 James Whittemore,  
 Enoch Hoag,  
 Nathan Jenkins,

Mary Weston,  
Joseph Weston,  
Wm. P. Peakes,  
Wm. Carruthers,  
Nahum Osgood,  
Sylvanus Brown,  
Seth Sprague,  
George W. Benson,  
John S. Hall,  
Jairus Lincoln,

Thos. Wooldredge,  
J. Reynolds,  
Abigail Wooldredge,  
Rebecca Reynolds,  
Elisha J. Sherman,  
Daniel Phillips,  
Edward P. Little,  
Anna Q. Thaxter,  
Nathaniel Snow.

The following persons voted in the negative :

T. W. Durant,  
John Dickinson,  
Dexter Dickinson,  
Samuel H. Fawcett,  
James Porter,  
Amasa Walker,  
John E. Fuller,  
Augustus M. Coburn,  
C. T. Torrey,  
Augustus Otis,  
Joseph Barry,  
Hiram Cummings,

George Russell,  
Josiah Brackett,  
Charles Grant,  
Benj. Frost,  
Geo. W. Simonds,  
J. H. Martyn,  
J. W. Alden,  
Orange Scott,  
Daniel Wise,  
S. M. Coburn,  
Preston Paul,  
Urban Rice,

Ayes 183—Noes 24.

So the Report was accepted.

[We give the list of Ayes as we find them checked on the roll. One of the Secretaries, who kept tally, stated the number of those who voted in the affirmative to be 198; and it is not improbable that some might have answered 'Yes,' whose names, in consequence of the hurry and confusion of the moment, were not checked. The Noes correspond with the vote as it was declared at the time.]

Mr. May introduced the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That we approve the determination of the Executive Committee of the American A. S. Society, to summon a National Convention of the friends of immediate emancipation, to consider the duties of abolitionists in the present condition of our cause; and we recommend a ~~large~~ attendance of the citizens of this Commonwealth.

Mr. Scott introduced the following, which was adopted :

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society to take measures to obtain an Essay or Essays on the sin of American Slavery under all circumstances, and the obligations of our General Government immediately to abolish slavery and the slave trade, wherever its jurisdic-

tion extends, and offer ——— dollars as a premium for the best written Essay on these subjects, and ——— dollars for the second best. Adjourned *sine die*.

### NOTE.

The strictures of the Report, upon the new anti-slavery organization proposed by GERRIT SMITH, it must be observed, are predicated upon a series of objections, and not upon the ground that Mr. S. wishes to interfere with the rights of conscience. For the language of that great philanthropist is—"Let it be distinctly understood, that the form of the Constitution, which I recommend, is one that forbids the members of the society voting wrong, and not one that enjoins their voting right." There are, however, in this quarter, some over-zealous abolitionists, who seem determined, if possible, to brand as recreant to the cause of bleeding humanity, all those members of anti-slavery societies, who, on account of their conscientious scruples, refrain from going to the polls on any occasion. Such conduct is despotic, and has already made a very unhappy state of things in this Commonwealth.

The objections to Mr. Smith's plan are, briefly—

1. It assumes that the present anti-slavery organization is radically defective; for, Mr. Smith says, let his plan be carried out, "and the present A. S. societies will fall speedily to the ground; *even more speedily than did the wine-tolerating temperance societies, after the introduction of the new pledge.*" Now, "the wine-tolerating temperance societies" were utterly defective in principle; and by this comparison of Mr. Smith, the implication would seem to be, that "the present anti-slavery societies" are equally defective in principle. This cannot be conceded, for one moment; nor is it to be supposed that Mr. Smith intended to bring so grave a charge against them; though his language certainly warrants such an inference.

2. The "thousands of good men, who have conscientious objections against voting at all," and also the "good women" who are not permitted to use the elective franchise, would feel no desire for a new organization, but would rather prefer the old one; so that, by adopting the new, an injurious division in our ranks might be the consequence.

3. If a single specification in our Constitutions, as to the *manner* in which abolitionists shall carry out their principles, is necessary, in order to secure right action in one particular,—then two, ten or twenty specifications, in other particulars, are quite as indispensable.

4. Unless abolitionists are men of unbending integrity, no reliance can be placed upon their pledges; and a mere general promise not to vote for a pro-slavery candidate will not obviate the difficulty—as experience has already shown—for every slave of party will be too blind to discriminate between candidates, in any case.



# LIFE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

John Kenrick, Newton, (dec.)	Rev J. V. Himes, Boston,
Prince Farmer, Salem.	Joseph Southwick, "
John Remond, Salem.	Amasa Walker, "
Charles Stuart, England.	John C. Smith, "
George Thompson, "	Edmund Jackson, "
Edward S. Abdy, "	William Carleton, "
Samuel E. Sewall, Boston.	George B. Emerson, "
Daniel Gregg, "	I. S. Withington, "
Charles C. Barry, "	Henry Chapman, "
Ellis Gray Loring, "	Maria W. Chapman, "
James C. Odiorne, "	Samuel Philbrick, Brookline.
Isaac Knapp, "	Isaac Winslow, Danvers.
William H. Hayward, "	W. Farnsworth, Roxbury.
Increase Gilbert, "	Rev. A. Jackson, Kingston.
Rev. E. M. P. Wells, "	E. L. Capron, Uxbridge.
Wm. Lloyd Garrison, "	Moses Brown, Providence, R. I. (dec.)
Benjamin C. Bacon, "	Rev. G. B. Perry, Bradiord.
Rev. Henry Jones, Cabot, Vt.	Rev. E. Seagrave, Attleborough.
Rev. D. T. Kimball, Ipswich.	Rev. Jotham Horton, Worcester.
Dr. I. Kittredge, Beverly.	Rev. Philemon R. Russell, Lynn.
Dr. C. T. Hildreth, Boston.	Richard Clapp, Dorchester.
Silas Osborn.	Rev. J. W. Cross, Roxborough.
Wm. Oakes, Ipswich.†	A. F. Boston.
Ebenezer Dole, Hallowell, Me.	Angelina E. Grimke, Philadelphia.
John Taylor, Bath, Me.	Eliza Watson, Boston.
Edward Southwick, Danvers.	Daniel Henshaw, Lynn.
Joseph Tillson, Boston.	Thomas H. Atwill, Lynn.
Phineas Wheeler.	John Rogers, Boston.
Mrs. George Thompson, England.	Abraham Bowen, Fall River.
Mrs. Calvin Philleo.	Harvey Chase, "
Mrs. Amos A. Phelps, Boston. (dec.)	Jacob Noyes, Boston.
Mrs. Increase Gilbert, "	Lydia B. Capron, Uxbridge.
Mrs. S. H. Winslow, Portland, Me. (dec.)	Gilbert E. Capron, "
Mrs. C. Winslow, "	Anne Bassett, "
Mrs. J. C. Smith, Boston.	Sarah Easton.
Miss Susan Paul, "	S. H. Peckham, Plaistow.
William Rotch, Jr. New Bedford.	Rev. N. Hervey, Marblehead.
Andrew Robeson, "	I. M. Wilder, Hanover.
Dr. Charles Follen, Boston,	Rev. Edward N. Harris, Methuen.
Rev. George B. Cheever, Salem.	Rev. Isaac Sawyer, South Reading.
Rev. C. P. Grosvenor, Worcester.	Drury Fairbanks, Boston.
Joseph Sewall, Esq. Boston.	Christopher Robinson, Lynn.
Francis Jackson, Esq. "	Calvin Temple, Reading.
Rev. Henry C. Wright, "	Mrs. Elijah Demond.
John Sullivan, "	Hiram A. Morse, Holliston.
Perez Gill, "	Josiah Hayward.
D. Chute, "	E. T. Pritchett, Amherst.
John S. Kimball, "	Rev. James Cushing, East Haverhill.
Marcus Whiting, "	Rev. Jonas Perkins, Weymouth.
Timothy Gilbert, "	Mrs. Venus Manning.
Rev. Baron Stow, "	Abner Sanger, Danvers.
George Cogswell, M. D. West Bradford.	Rev. Nathaniel Emmons, D. D. Franklin.
Rev. Joseph H. Towne, Boston.	Jno. S. White, West Wrentham.
Samuel B. Russell, Marblehead.	Sarah Clay, Lowell.
Nathan Heaton, Franklin.	John Burchen, West Bradford.
Mrs. Nathan Heaton, Franklin.	Rev. David Sanford, Dorchester.
Wendell Phillips, Boston.	Edmund Quincy, Boston.
Rev. Abijah Cross, West Bradford.	Rev. E. Smalley, Franklin.
Rev. Luther Wright, Woburn.	Etiza J. Kenney, Salem.
Sarah M. Grimke, Philadelphia.	Clarissa C. Lawrence, do.
Rev. Abel G. Duncan, Hanover.	Susan G. Roundey, do.
Mrs. Abel G. Duncan, do.	Robert Bartlett, Cambridge.
David Gregg, Acton.	Joseph Ricketson, New Bedford.
Roswell Goss, Boston.	Israel Perkins, Lynn.



# ACCOUNT OF MONEY RECEIVED INTO THE TREASURY OF THE MASS. A. S. SOCIETY,

DURING THE YEAR 1833.

Francis Jackson of Boston	\$ 100 00	Amount brought up	1830 62
Acton A. S. Soc. by C. Tuttle, Treas.	22 00	Roxbury Female A. S. Soc. by Elizabeth Jones, quarterly subscription	15 67
Scituate A. S. Soc. by Anson Robbins	10 00	Cambridgeport Female A. S. Soc. by Sylvia Ammidon, quar. sub.	6 06
Salem A. S. Soc. by I. Field, Treas. on act. of pledge	78 00	Rev. Jno. Parkman of Greenfield, quarterly subscription	5 00
Contributions at Duxbury, 7 Nov. 1837, by Samuel J. May	7 00	Francis G. Shaw of Boston	5 00
Fem. A. S. Soc. Franklin, by E. Pond to constitute A. M. Emmons L. M.	15 00	Wrentham Female A. S. Society, quar. sub. by S. J. May	18 00
E. D. Holbrook, East Randolph, by T. French	20 00	A lady of Hanson, by S. J. May	5 00
S. Reading A. S. Soc. by R. C. Wiley, bal. of pledge made 25th Jan. 1837,	15 00	Wm. Lloyd Garrison	9 00
Dorchester A. S. Soc. by Mr. Clapp, pledge at Worcester,	25 00	Collection taken up 4th July at Marlboro' Chapel, after oration by Wm. L. Garrison,	54 68
Jno. W. Browne, life member	15 00	Rev. Samuel May of Leicester	5 00
Ladies in Duxbury by S. C. Stetson	1 50	Franklin County A. S. Soc. by G. T. Davis,	
Plymouth Fem. A. S. Soc. to constitute Rev. B. Whitmore and E. Morton life members, and on pledge \$100	30 00	Rev. J. Parkman, Greenfield,	10
East Haverhill Ladies' A. S. Soc. to constitute Rev. B. Knight, L. M.	15 00	Horace Ripley, Deerfield,	1
Maria W. Chapman, life member	15 00	A. Buddington and wife, Leyden,	1
Wm. T. Temple, Alton, flt. pledge made May 1836,	10 00	Geo. T. Davis, Greenfield,	5-26 00
Corneilius Bramhall, membership	1 00	Winchendon A. S. Soc. by L. Richardson, Soc.	10 00
Thomas Cole, Boston, by A. A. Phelps	5 00	Rev. Robt. F. Walcott, membership	1 00
Thomas R. Kimball, do. do.	5 00	Daniel Gregg, West Roxbury	25 00
Townsend A. S. Soc. do.	13 50	Ladies A. S. Association, at Nantucket by Alice H. Easton, Tr.	20 00
Lucy Earle, pledge at Worcester, Sept. 27, 1837, by A. A. Phelps	15 00	Francis Jackson, Boston, Quarterly	51 59
Joshua Everett, Princeton, do.	2 00	Weymouth Town A. S. Soc. by T. Loud, Collection 4th July	11 00
Harvard A. S. Society do.	11 36	<i>Donations at Marlboro' Chapel, 1st Aug.</i>	
Plymouth A. S. Soc. by I. Morton, bal. due on pledge of \$100 made at annual meeting in January last	70 00	T. Campbell, Richmond St.	3 00
Lynn Female A. S. Society, by Abbey Kelley, of which amount \$90 are appropriated to constitute the following persons life members of Mass. A. S. Soc.—Harriet Martineau, of Eng.; Lydia Maria Child; Anna Purliton; Rev. Thomas F. Alexander; Edwin Thompson; Benajah Parinton	200 00	Maria C. Ray, pledge past year	5 00
Collection at Holden, by A. A. Phelps	25 00	G. W. Mellen, Quarterly	1 00
Female A. S. Soc. Reading, by Nancy A. Gleason, Tr.	18 76	Geo. Sutherland	1 00
Sarah Hodgman, Waltham	50	Bathsheba Fowler, Charlestown	1 00
Mrs. John Parkman, Brighton	10 00	Mrs. Judith Rogers	1 00
Boston Female Juvenile A. S. Soc. by Lucia Weston	17 00	M. H. Simpson, Boston	3 00
Monthly Concert, Sandwich, by Josiah Gifford	8 00	Miss A. R. Campbell	50
Female A. S. Soc. New Bedford, by Mary T. Congdon, Tr.	50 00	Collection	23 74
West Medway A. S. Soc.	17 00	Rev. Robt. F. Walcott, pledge 1st Aug.	5 00
Lucinda Force	1 00	Ashburnham A. S. Soc. by Philip R. Merriam	6 00
Collection at Marlboro' Chapel, lecture by Mr. Coddling	7 00	Female A. S. Soc. by P. R. Merriam	9 12
Thomas W. Durant, life member	15 00	West Boylston A. S. Soc. by W. Winter	7 00
Thomas W. Durant, donation	10 00	S. Philbrick, Brooklyn, Quarterly	50 00
A member of the Mass. A. S. Soc.	150 00	A firm in the city	125 00
		Amasa Walker, pledge Aug. 1	25 00
		Female A. S. Soc. Fall River, by Prudence W. Hathaway	15 00
		Plymouth Co. A. S. Soc. S. Richmond, Tr. by Ichabod Morton	50 00
		<i>Collections by Charles Simmons.</i>	
		His own quar. sub 2 qurs. in adv.	2 50
		Dea. Seba Kent, 4 " "	5 00
		Dr. Savery, Attleboro', 1 " "	2 00
		Amos Starkey, do 1 " "	1 00
		Col. I. K. Miller, do 1 " "	1 00
		Other donors in Attleboro' and Sekonk 4 members 1 qr. each in advance	3 36
		8 do 1 " "	2 08
		S. Williams, Roxbury, 1st payt. quar.	1 04
			5 00

\$ 1030 62

\$ 1652 96

Amount brought up	\$ 1652 96	Amount brought up	\$ 2249 89
Rev. L. Tracy, West Boylston	3 00	Mrs. J. P. Nichols	1 00
C. C. Barry, subscription for the year	15 00	Miss Hannah Richards	3 00
Harvey Newcomb	5 00	Miss Adeline Stone	1 00
Fall River A. S. Soc. by B. B. Sisson, Tr.	50 00	Mrs. Mary J. Holmes	1 00
Young Men's A. S. Soc. New Bedford,		N. B. Chamberlain	2 00
by Orange Scott	100 00	Mrs. Jane Swett	1 00
Friends in Fairhaven by O. Scott	33 67	Mrs. Maria Smith	50
<i>Collections by J. Tillson.</i>		Amos Smith	1 —
Dorchester A. S. Soc. quar. sub. \$37;		Joseph S. Hart	50
A donation, 2,	39 00	James Tolman	4 —
Cambridgeport A. S. Soc. on quar. sub.		W. Blake on pledge of \$100, quar. sub.	25 —
64,00; donations and collections	33 50	Rev. Jno. Parkman, Greenfield	5 —
Lowell, donations and collections	49 55	Dr. H. J. Bowditch, 'to be devoted to	
Worcester A. S. Soc. quar. sub. 36 50;		the printing of abolition papers	
Collection and donations, 37 86;		written on Christian peace prin-	
Donation for disseminating Thoms		ciples'	5 —
and Kimball's Journal, 3	77 36	Miss Irving of Boston	1 —
New Worcester A. S. Soc. quar. sub.		Miss Briard of Boston	1 —
13 75; Donations, 2 22	15 97	<i>Collections by Alanson St. Clair.</i>	
Leicester A. S. Soc. on quar. sub. 17 75;		Franklin Female A. S. Society	15 —
Donations, 10 15; Donations for cir-		Amesbury A. S. Society	2 —
culating Thome and Kimball's Jour-		Rhode Island State A. S. Society	9 —
nal, 3,	30 93	Pennsylvania " " "	8 50
West Royalston A. S. S. on quar. sub.		Winchendon A. S. Society	16 —
24 90; Donations, 4 77; by Mrs. J.		Marshfield A. S. Society	35 50
Lawrence, (six cents a week Soc.)		Persons unknown	6 92
150; Miss Mercy M. Winter (cent		A. St. Clair	5 —
a week Soc.) 1 46	32 63	Mrs. St. Clair	1 —
West Medway and Village, on quar.		Abington A. S. Society	40 25
sub. 17 85; Donations, 6 50; Col-		North Bridgewater A. S. Society	25 —
lections at Monthly Concert, 5 60	29 85	Millville Female A. S. Society	4 —
East Medway, Rev. M. Harding's Par-		Plymouth County A. S. Society, by	
ish to redeem pledge to Am. A. S. S.	25 00	Hon. Seth Sprague	6 39
Essex Co. A. S. S. by Abner Sanger	500 00	<i>Collections in Boston by J. Tillson.</i>	
N. P. Kemp	5 00	John Farquhar	1 —
Mrs. Oliver Fisher	1 00	Hugh B. Louge	4 —
Joseph Jewett	1 00	A friend in Boston	2 —
Daniel L. Haskell	5 00	J. V. Hines	50
Mrs. Hermon	1 00	Miss A. E. Maun	1 —
Mr. and Mrs. Giles Pease	2 00	Noah Gray	1 —
Mrs. A. Cummings	50	D. L. Carteaux	1 —
John Rupp	2 00	Dr. E. Whitney	1 —
Thomas Adams	1 00	Harriet Brummet	1 —
Miss C. P. Merritt	1 00	H. S. P. Weedon	2 —
Mrs. Ira Greenwood	5 00	Perez Gill	5 —
John Augustus	5 00	James Morrill	5 —
Miss Catharine Sargent	5 00	G. W. Porter	1 —
Miss Henrietta Sargent	5 00	J. G. Barbadoes,	1 —
George K. Cushing	1 00	Miss M. White	1 —
James Crawford	5 00	George L. Young	1 —
B. Loomis	1 00	William Rich	1 —
Mrs. M. P. Rogers	50	Hannah E. More	1 —
Mrs. Edward Prescott	1 00	James M. Hardy	1 —
J. B. Loomis	5 00	Mrs. Jane Putnam	50
Caroline S. Greenwood	2 00	R. M. Barlow	2 —
Mrs. Beck	1 00	Nathaniel S. Dayton	2 —
Miss L. A. H. Peterson	5 00	William S. Porter	1 —
Benjamin P. Bassett	1 00	Ira Greenwood	5 —
Rebecca Howland	50	Ira Crawford	5 —
J. W. May	1 00	Hannah Thompson	50
Daniel French	1 00	Keziah Grant	3 —
J. B. Wetherbee	10 00	R. Louge	2 —
Miss Sarah Mann	1 00	J. Louge	2 —
Mary Mann	1 0	Mrs. Louge	2 —
T. C. Tingley	5 00	Mrs. Todd	2 —
Mrs. Nancy C. Tingley	1 00	Mrs. Susan Holbrook	2 —
J. S. Withington	5 00	James Bryden	1 —
Mrs. Charles T. Hildreth	2 00	Primus Hail	2 —
Rachel Green	1 00	Wm. Lewis	5 —
Mrs. Jewett	1 00	Mrs. M. A. Whitney	50
Henry Manuel	1 00	J. A. Whitmarsh	1 —
J. A. Andrews	2 00	Rachel Dole	1 25
R. Smith	2 00	S. R. Alexander	2 —
\$ 2249 89		\$ 3149 75	

Amount brought up	§ 3149 70	Amount brought up	§ 3739 97
Mrs. Sarah Hayward	1 —	Cash paid at the Franklin Co. A. S. Meeting,	
Dr. Charles T. Hildreth	5 —	in Greenfield, Oct. 9, 1838.	
Joseph Thompson	12	Geo T. Davis, Greenfield,	7 50
Freeman Jocelyn	1 —	R. Leavitt, Charlemont,	5 00
Joseph Southwick	25 —	J. Amson, Deerfield,	1 00
Harvey Newcomb	1 —	Apollos Cray,	2 00
Collection at Monthly Concert at Marl-		J. Bement, Ashfield,	10 00
boro' Chapel	5 12	Rev. Theo. Packard, Shelburne,	1 00
Collections at Monthly Concerts in		Rev. B. Fowler Bernardston,	1 00
Roxbury, by J. Jones	9 —	L. M. Child, Northampton,	1 00
Medway and Village, by D. Nurse	15 50	Rev. T. Packard, Jr. Shelburne,	2 00
G. M. Rice, Worcester, in ad. to qr. pl.	10 —	Rev. Wm. Riddle, S. Deerfield,	5 00
Francis Jackson bal. due on qr. sub.	43 50	Rev. C. A. Cooly, "	1 00
Cambridgeport A. S. S. by A. A. Phelps	65 —	Rev. W. M. Richards, "	1 00
Monthly Concert at Marlboro' Chapel Oct.	29 4 67	Rev. Sam'l Ware, "	2 00
J. M. Wilder, Hanover, pledged Worcester	20 00	Martin H. Clapp, Montague,	1 00
Holliston A. S. S. by Timothy Daniels, Tr.	12 50	Butler Wilmouth, Leavitt,	1 00
Westminster A. S. Soc. on acc. of pl. made		G. W. Arns, Greenfield,	1 00
at Worcester by Rev. Mr. Brown,	18 00	D. W. Alvord, "	1 00
Ruth Earle, Leicester, pledge at Worcester	5 00	S. Hox, Shelburne,	1 00
Mary B. Earle, Worcester, 4 qrs. in adv.	16 00	Cash paid at Ashfield, Oct. 8, 1838.	
Amesbury and Salisbury, by Mr. Shepherd,	2 00	Elijah Paine,	1 00
Francis G. Shaw, of Boston	25 00	Jared Bement,	1 00
Rev. Jno. Parkman of Greenfield, to be add-		Mrs. Electa Bement,	1 00
ed to his former payments to constitute		Other persons in sums less than a dollar,	
him a life member of this Society	4 00	and Jasper Bement to meet pledges in	
Balance of pledge at Greenfield Convention,		Ashfield, not paid,	10 22
to Mr. St. Clair, by Rev. J. Parkman,	6 00	ACCOUNT OF MONEY	
Reading Association, by C. Temple, quar.	20 12	Received at the Young Men's Convention, at	
D. Chute, of Reading,	10 00	Worcester, by O. Johnson.	
Mrs. T. Pratt, of Carver	25	Joseph S. Wall, Worcester, Ex.	1 00
Amesbury and Salisbury A. S. S. by I. Knapp	8 00	S. A. Drake, Sturbridge,	7 50
Duxbury	10 00	Dana Newton, Worcester,	1 00
W. Boylston Fem. A. S. S. by D. D. Winter	13 00	Elbridge G. Gates, Petersham,	50
W. Brookfield Fem. A. S. S. by J. M. Fiske	13 42	Hart Leavitt, Heath,	5 00
Boxboro' A. S. S. by receipts to Nov. 25—		Albert Kelley, Millbury,	1 00
Samuel Hayward	25 00	Amos J. Ballou, Cumberland, R. I.	1 00
Collections by A. St. Clair.		A friend,	2 00
At the Northampton Conv. Oct. 5, 1838	133 45	A friend,	1 00
At Franklin Co. A. S. meeting, Oct. 9, 1838	44 50	J. Boutwell, Andover,	10 00
At Ashfield, Oct. 8	13 22	Salem and vicinity A. S. Soc. credit	
PARTICULARS AS FOLLOWS:		of the Essex Co. Society,	25 00
Cash paid at the Northampton Convention,		A friend,	1 00
Oct. 5, 1838.		Charles Davis, Worcester.	3 00
A. S. & A. C. F.	50	Sandy Bay A. S. Soc. by W. P. Burns,	10 00
D. B. & J. R.	50	Edward Earle, Worcester, addition to	
John Dickinson,	5 00	quar. pl.	10 00
Monthly Concert S. Deerfield,	2 50	David Hall, Oxford,	1 00
S. Hadley Canal A. S. S. Society,	25 00	John E. Fuller, Bos on,	2 00
H. K. Starkweather, Northampton,	1 00	J. R. Barbour, Charlton,	2 00
E. M. Brown,	1 75	Peter Smith, Andover,	5 00
R. Leavitt, Charlemont,	5 00	A friend,	2 00
E. A. Breck, Northampton,	1 00	Stillman Lothrop,	5 00
J. Huydon, pd O. Scott, for Mass. S.	25 00	Samuel Perry,	5 00
W. S. Howland, Amherst,	3 00	Oliver Johnson,	1 00
B. Allyn,	5 00	Wm. Lloyd Garrison,	1 00
Geo. M. Tuthill,	1 00	J. W. Hammond, Dudley,	2 00
G. Dorrance,	2 00	J. K. Ballou, Cumberland, R. I.	2 00
C. McFarland,	2 00	John G. Burleigh,	2 00
Josiah Parson, Northampton,	1 00	Ashburnham A. S. Society, on quarter-	
R. Hubbard,	1 00	ly. sub.	10 00
S. Warner,	1 00	Millbury A. S. Society,	10 00
Ansel Clapp,	10 00	Sarah Rugg, Groton,	5 00
D. L. Child,	1 00	A friend,	93
J. M. Child,	1 00	Seth Lee, Barre,	3 00
J. Dickinson,	1 00	A friend,	2 00
Enos Clark,	2 00	John B. Pierce, Danvers,	10 00
A friend to the slave,	50	Individual from New Bedford,	5 00
Aaron Fisher, Westhampton,	2 00	E. Shepard,	2 00
M. P. Cook,	50	Northboro' A. S. Soc. balance of last	
John Cudroot, Chesterfield,	1 00	quar. sub. by G. Valentine,	13 00
O. Skeel, Williamansett,	1 00	A friend who does not profess to 're-	
Heart Leavitt, Heath,	5 00	member them that are in bonds as	
Horace Smith,	2 00	bound with them,' but who gives all	
Cash,	2 50	she has,	5 00
Cash,	50		
Cash,	50		
Cash,	3 00		
Cash,	45		
Cash,	75		
Cash,	15 50		

§ 3739 97

§ 3914 90

Amount brought up	£ 3914 90	Amount brought up	£ 4101 34
A friend,	13 00	William H. Hayward,	5 00
Newell G. Morse, Holliston,	3 00	At Monthly Concert,	2 46
Two loco-foco abolitionists of Berlin,	2 00	Willis Howes,	5 00
Thos. J. Winchell, Worcester,	1 00	Mary J. Webster,	1 00
Friend in Middlebury,	1 00	J. V. Himes, quarterly sub,	50
Henry Haskell, Gloucester,	1 00	Roswell Goss, quarterly sub 3 yrs,	75 00
John W. Browne, Lynn, for expenses,	2 00	James Morrill, quarterly sub,	5 00
John Walker, Barre,	1 00	Edmund Quilacy, quarterly sub, 4 yrs,	50 00
Stephen Albee, Mendon,	50	Walpole A. S. S. on quar. sub by E.	10 00
Charles H. Wilder, Sterling,	2 00	Shepard,	10 00
A friend,	2 00	N. Worcester, do do do, by C. Hersey,	8 75
John A. Innes, Salem,	2 00	West Boylston do do do, by J. Dav-	2 25
Edmund Flsk, Sandwich, quar. sub.	2 00	enport,	
Wm Phelps, jr. Salem,	2 00	Holliston Female do do do, by Nancy	5
Assonet A. S. Society by E. W. Roh-		L. Fitts,	
inson,	5 00	Fitchburg Female do do do, by D. B.	7 67
S. R. Jackson, Worcester,	2 00	Thurston,	20
George W. Russell, do.	1 00	Jarius Stearns, Fitchburg, a donation,	18 97
John T. Hlton, Boston,	2 00	Boston Juvenile A. S. S. by Wm Ber-	28 00
West Brookfield A. S. Society, from		ry, Treasurer,	
Amos Gilbert, Treasurer,	15 25	Weymouth A. S. S. by B. L. Pratt, Tr.	178
Cash,	5 00	Middlesex North and Vicinity Chari-	
L. Wetherell, Ware,	5 00	table Association, by J. S. Adams,	
A friend,	5 00	Treasurer,	
A friend,	2 00	<i>Monies received through A. A. Phelps.</i>	
Edward S. Leland, Upton,	25	Asa Day, pledge,	2 00
R. G. Fairbanks, Charlton,	10 00	Collections by Geo. Russell, at Graf-	
T. Daniels, Holliston,	1 00	ton,	7 62
Emery Albee, Attleborough,	1 00	Roxbury Ladies' A. S. S. quar. sub. by	
D Roberts, Worcester,	75	Mrs Jones,	10 50
Cash,	5 00	Friend in Wrentham,	5 00
Cash,	1 00	Joshua Perry, Hanson, by Rev. S. J.	
Silas Walker, jr. West Boylston,	2 00	May,	5 00
Lydia Earle, and Sarah S. Breed, Lei-		Duxbury A. S. S. by Hon. S. Sprague,	7 50
cester,	5 00	Collection at Concord to defray ex-	
Cash,	1 00	pense of printing proceedings, &c.	16 34
Albert Bancroft, Auburn,	2 00	Dedham A. S. S. by Dr Carpenter,	15 00
Wm. Bassett, for expenses of Con-		Foxboro' " "	18 62
vention,	2 00	Wrentham, " Abner Belcher,	1600
Wendell Phillips, do do do	2 00	Friends of the slave, in Berlin, by D.	
A friend, Worcester,	1 00	R. Lamson,	10 00
From an ultra peace man, to fight		A. Melendy, Amherst, N. H.	1 00
with,	1 00	Catharine J. Smith, Waltham,	2 00
A friend,	1 00	Peter E. Saaborn, pledge for year	
John Walker,	1 00	on 1st Aug.	5 00
A friend for expenses of Convention,	1 00	Edwin Thompson, donation,	5 67
A friend,	1 00	Collections by Edwin Thompson as	
B. P. Chace, for expenses of Conven-		follows:	
tion,	1 00	Reading, on qr. sub.	20 12
A friend,	1 00	" Cash,	7 00
J.B. flum, Lynn, for expenses of Con-		" Y. Men's A. S. Soc	9 00
vention,	2 00	Rev. T. B. Thayer, Lowell,	1 00
A friend, " "	2 00	Loranna Riggs, "	1 00
A friend, " "	1 00	Concord, on quar. sub.	10 00
George W. Bancroft, Groton,	5 00	" Cash,	40 87
A friend, Worcester,	1 00	Framingham, on quar. sub.	5 25
A friend,	1 00	" Cash,	7 82
W. W. Linfield, East Randolph,	1 00	Saxtonville, Cash,	4 60
Thos. White, jr. " "	1 00	Polly D. Bradish, Treasurer cent a-week	
Diana Robinson, Worcester,	50	society in Upton,	9 00
George T. Davis, Greenfield, for ex-		Charles C. Bassett, of Phillipston,	5 00
of Convention,	2 00	Ladies' Society, Worcester, by Sarah H. Earle,	50 00
Collection,	10 69	Female Juvenile Soc. of Amesbury and Sa-	
Josiah Gifford, Sandwich. an. sub.	5 00	isbury, by Sarah T. Osgood, Tr.	4 00
Rutland Anti-Slavery Society, by G.		Boston Female A. S. S. by L. M. Hall. Tr.	500 00
S. Flint,	12 00	Scituate " " by Daniel Wise,	27 00
And over Female Anti-Slavery Society		Littleton A. S. Society, C. Blanchard Tr. by	
by Cynthia Avery, Treasurer,	17 00	Daniel Wise,	5 00
<i>Collections in Boston, by Joseph Tillson.</i>		<i>Collections in Weston, by Daniel Wise.</i>	
Lewis Finney,	2 00	Rev. Mr. Hodges,	1 00
James Johnson,	50	A friend,	50
Dexter Dickinson,	5 00	Mr. Child,	50
		Mr. Warren,	50
		Mr. Jones,	50

Amount brought up	\$ 5164 73	Amount brought up	\$ 5327 00
Wealthy C. Jones,	50	Rev. Samuel May, of Leicester, do.	5 00
A young man,	50	Lorenzo Crowell, of Ware—pledged at Wor-	
Marshall Jones,	50	cester,	2 00
Maria Cutter,	50	Freetown A. S. Soc. by Alden Hathaway,	
Mr. Harrington,	30	Treasur'r,	5 00
Joel Upham,	25	Ladies' Society, Upton, by P. R. Russell,	6 00
E. O. Howe,	25	Friends in Chelmsford, by do.	10 10
Mr. Dunn,	25	Plymouth County A. S. Soc. S. Richmond,	
Mr. Hews,	25	Tr. by the hands of I. Morton,	50 00
Mr. Upham,	25	Colored Sabbath School in Salem, to con-	
Mr. J. Upham,	25	stitute Robert Cogswell a life member,	15 00
Mr. Rice,	25	Lewis Hensley of Boston,	1 00
Mr. S. Hews,	25	Anne W. Weston, of Weymouth,	2 00
Charles Leebetter,	25	Andover Female A. S. Soc. by L. M. Ball,	10 00
Charles Weston,	12	Fitchburg A. S. Soc. by B. Snow, Jr., to re-	
Misses Jones,	13	deem pl. dgs at Y. Men's Convention,	
A friend in Wayland,	25	Worcester,	40 00
Rev. Mr. Hyde, Wayland,	21	Sabbath School Society, S. Reading, by E.	
Elijah Puffer, Saxonville,	53	Emerson,	10 00
Monthly Concert, 31st Dec. at Marlboro'		Salem Juvenile (colored) Sewing Soc. to	
Chapel,	7 00	constitute Wm. B. Dodge life member,	15 00
Francis Jackson gr. sub.	50 00	J. B. Smith, membership,	1 00
Samuel Philbrick of Brookline—2 quarters,	100 00	Unknown	1 20
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	\$ 5327 60	Total,	\$ 5300 8
	813		